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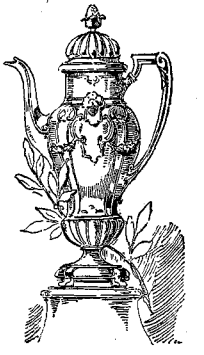

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The Outlook

JANUARY 21, 1911

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
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Contributing Editor

THE CASE OF W. S. HARLAN

In an editorial on another page we refer to President Taft's firm refusal to commute the prison sentence of W. S. Harlan, convicted of violation of the peonage law. Coming as it does with the announcement of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Alonzo Bailey case, this refusal is reassuring to those who feel that the poor man does not get "even justice." Regarding Harlan the President says: "The testimony was specific and detailed in cases of attempted escape of such laborers (of foreigners being taken South from New York, who did not speak our language nor understand what was being done to them) showing their pursuit, capture, terrorism by display of revolvers, and in one or more instances actual whippings." To quote the President further and at greater length:

> When, therefore, a man of high business standing and large enterprises is convicted of the offense, the punishment should be such as to deter others from the practice. Fines are not effective against men of wealth. Imprisonment is necessary. I am well aware of the grievous character of confinement in jail to a man of Mr. Harlan's standing, and I should be glad to yield to the urgent appeals of his many friends, but I cannot do so. I believe him to be guilty of the charge of which he has been convicted. To retain and enforce the imprisonment part of the sentence will operate powerfully to prevent a recurrence of such offenses by men of large affairs and business standing.
>
> To relieve such a one from the penalty of imprisonment when properly convicted and sentenced would be to break down the authority of the law with those of power and influence, and would tempt on their part further breaches. What is worse, it would give real ground for the contention so often heard that it is only the poor criminals who are really punished.

So in this case the machinery of justice has done its part. But why should "many prominent citizens of Iowa intervene with much earnestness in his behalf" with the President of the United States, and compel that already busy official to read 1,800 printed pages of evidence? Is it merely because Harlan is a man of "great enterprise and good business reputation"? It would seem so, for similarly we find that no less than forty thousand people have signed a petition for the release of another convicted criminal of high standing, Mr. Morse. Now, in this last case, the vast majority of those forty thousand must, of necessity, be of the so-called "common people"—the ones who are most affected by the evils of high finance. When the average citizens, the forty thousand, cease to undo the few convictions of the wealthy that we do get, we shall see justice more equitably meted to rich and poor alike.

THE LIBERTY TO LIE

We have before us the brief of the Government attorneys in a case under the Pure Food Law which is now under consideration by the Supreme Court of the United States. That act forbids inter-State commerce in any article of food or any drug which is adulterated or misbranded; and the term "misbranded" is defined as applying to all drugs "the package or label of which shall bear any statement, design, or device regarding such article . . . which shall be false or misleading in any particular." The Government has secured the indictment of the manufacturer of "Dr. Johnson's Mild Combination Treatment of Cancer." The label of one of the remedies which go to make up this "mild combination treatment" bears the following statements: "Blood Purifier. This is an

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effective tonic and alterative. It enters the circulation at once, utterly destroying and removing impurities from the blood and entire system. Acts on the bowels, kidneys, and skin, eliminating poisons from the system, and when taken in connection with the Mild Combination Treatment gives splendid results in the treatment of cancer and other malignant diseases. I always advise that the Blood Purifier be continued some little time after the cancer has been killed and removed and the sore healed. Recommended in all conditions associated with impure blood, poor digestion, and non-assimilation of food; also poor circulation, weak heart, etc." The Government contends that these statements on the label are "false and misleading" in several particulars. The lower court in which the case was tried held the manufacturer innocent, chiefly, it appears, on the ground that the intention of the statute is restricted to protecting the public health against adulterated, poisonous, and deleterious foods and drugs, and does not cover the protection of the public against cheats and frauds. We judge, from the Government brief, that no serious attempt has been made by the defendant to prove that the remarkable statements on the label are not "false and misleading." If such an attempt had been made, we are convinced that it must have miserably failed, at least at the bar of public opinion and common sense, if not at that of a court of law. Apparently the only contention which is made is that it is not this kind of "false and misleading" statements which the Pure Food Law aimed to punish. The business of preparing and selling to the public nostrums and cure-alls for serious ills, which, in the very nature of the case (it is a matter of common knowledge), must be not only useless, but, when used in place of proper medical treatment, positively harmful, is one of the most despicable invented by the evil ingenuity of conscienceless men. If the Supreme Court in its wisdom cannot adjudge that this particular kind of cheating and defrauding of the public is prohibited by the Pure Food Law, Congress should at once amend the law so that no technicalities of interpretation may afford a refuge for those who prey upon the hopes and fears of sufferers from disease.

THE LORIMER CASE AGAIN

Trustworthy information comes from Washington which makes it clear that powerful special interests are exerting their influence in behalf of Senator Lorimer. For this reason those Senators who have already publicly announced their opposition to what may be called "Lorimerism" deserve the special approval and the hearty support not only of their constituents but of all citizens who favor honest government. At this writing Senator Frazier, Democrat, of Tennessee, Senator Beveridge, Republican, of Indiana, Senater Owen, Democrat, of Oklahoma, and Senator Crawford, Republican, of South Dakota, have publicly announced that the evidence of corruption and bribery in Senator Lorimer's election is so clear that in their opinion he ought to be unseated. It is not surprising that a powerful lobby should be at work at Washington to prevent Mr. Lorimer's expulsion from the Senate. His name has been intimately associated with lobbying, political deals, bribery, and intimidation for many years in Chicago. His career has been in some respects a dramatic one. He was born in Lancashire, England, and the poverty of his surroundings led him to emigrate to the United States. He drifted to Chicago, and he is first known of in that city as holding a job as street car conductor on one of the old horse car lines. He early interested himself in ward politics and became, through his unquestioned ability as an organizer, a powerful leader, if not the head, of the corrupt local Republican machine in Chicago. He was intimately associated with the late Charles T. Yerkes in gaining control through political chicanery of the street railway system of Chicago. As everybody knows, the Yerkes period in Chicago street transit is one of the most offensive in the altogether too vulnerable history of municipal public utilities in this country. Any one who wishes to know the malign influence which Mr. Lorimer has exerted in Chicago politics needs only to read a paper on "Street Railway Legislation in Illinois," by Edwin Burritt Smith, which was published in the

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"Atlantic Monthly" for January, 1904. The dramatic episode there related, in which a Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives, owned, controlled, and directed by William Lorimer, was bodily driven from his seat by a majority of the Representatives who were opposed at that time to the "iniquitous deals" of Lorimer, is worth recalling at this time. Personally, Lorimer is said to be a man of "piety" and "good to his family." If "piety" is consistent with political corruption, then the country needs a few more "impious" Senators in Washington. It is, of course, perfectly clear that Lorimer cannot be unseated because upright fellow-Republicans in the past have publicly said that he has time and again sold out his own party by iniquitous deals with its opponents. He can only, of course, be unseated on the ground that the election by which he now attempts to hold his seat was a corrupt one. We have no personal enmity for Mr. Lorimer. The facts of his life to which we refer in this article are related simply for the sake of indicating to our readers that there is in the hands of responsible men a mass of evidence covering a long term of years which makes preposterous the claim of Senator Bulkeley and Senator Burrows that they cannot find any convincing testimony of William Lorimer's guilty knowledge of the corruption which tainted his election.

A COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN THE HOUSE

Progress in self-government goes by waves. Often the crest of the wave is followed by a depression. Just now the House of Representatives is in a depression following the foam-capped revolutionary wave of last spring. On March 17, 1910, the members of the House of Representatives began a sitting which continued all that night and well into the following afternoon and was resumed the next day. There was great excitement. Members were summoned to the House from distant places by telegraph. Among parliamentary struggles in this country, the one that lasted at that time for three days is conspicuous. What these Representatives were engaged in has been described as a parliamentary revolution. It resulted in stripping the oligarchic machine in the House of a substantial part of its arbitrary power. The Insurgent Republicans, supported by the Democrats, accomplished three results: first, they substituted for an arbitrary rules committee selected by the Speaker, the head of the oligarchy, one selected directly by the House; second, they established the precedent that a motion to vacate the Chair, that is, to depose the Speaker, is a motion of the highest privilege, and therefore always in order; and, third—and this we regarded at the time, and still regard, as the most important of the three results—they secured from the House, against the will of Speaker Cannon, a ruling that a motion to change the rules of the House is in order at any time. This third result, as our correspondent said at the time, "enables the House to resolve itself at any time into a Supreme Committee on Rules"—that is, it enables the majority of the House, however constituted, to express its will without recourse to procedure that has been described as revolutionary. No legislative question in a self-governing country is more important than that of liberating the people's representatives from the control of unrepresentative groups; and in a country that is really self-governing that question ought to be answered by a normal and orderly process. It was this that was supposed to have been established on the 19th day of last March. On Monday of last week, Mr. Fuller, a Republican Representative from Illinois, offered a resolution to change a rule of the House. Mr. Mann, of Illinois, who had been taking action to discredit the results achieved last winter, made a point of order that this resolution was not privileged. Speaker Cannon thereupon made a ruling in which he deliberately declined to follow the precedent set by the House in March. He distinctly said: "If the Chair follows the construction placed by a majority of the House at the last session of the Congress, the Chair would overrule the point of order." Then, after explaining that majority rule is usually exercised through the operations of a party caucus, he concluded: "However, the House is now in good temper. There is no election pending in the near future. The great press

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of the country and the great leaders of the respective parties are quiet. We are not excited. The Speaker of the House of Representatives, as the Chair has already stated, is removable at any time as a question of privilege by the House of Representatives. . . . The Chair declines to follow the judgment of the House at the last session of this Congress under which it made the precedent. . . . The Chair, therefore, in effect appeals to the House from a decision of that same House made in great excitement, when the waves of partisanship were high, doing so after the wind has ceased, and the billows have passed away, and the sea is serenely blue."

THE REASON OF THE VOTE

In his ruling thus deliberately and explicitly disregarding the precedent established last spring, the Speaker was sustained by a vote of 235 to 96. The Regular Republicans who supported Speaker Cannon last spring were consistent in supporting him this time. The Insurgent Republicans and a group of Insurgent Democrats were consistent in voting to sustain the precedent; but the Regular Democrats, who follow party leaders, deliberately repudiated their former action. By the action, therefore, of these Democrats, the precedent established last spring has been overturned. Their explanations for this change are not altogether clear; but the reason is plain. Now that they are anticipating entrance into control of the House, they care less about liberating a non-partisan majority than they do about preventing possible obstruction by political opponents. This action is significant in two respects: first, it indicates that what has been called "Cannonism" in the Republican party, while it was in power, is likely to make its appearance in the Democratic party when it assumes power; second, that the Insurgent movement, which has been a liberating element in the Republican party, is already finding its counterpart among the Democrats. We do not expect to see oligarchical methods as dominant as they were before last March; but it is clear from this action on the part of the majority of the Democrats that the struggle with the oligarchy will have to be fought anew.

RECKLESS PENSION REGULATION

Only two or three weeks ago The Outlook called attention to the danger and folly of any pension legislation which had not been thoroughly discussed and carefully considered. Nothing could give more forcible point to this warning than the action of the lower branch of Congress last week in passing, by a very large majority, but after very slight debate and that not of an analytical or fundamental character, the Sulloway Pension Bill. A temperate and reasonable speech by Mr. Longworth, of Ohio, contrasted with a rhetorical and excited declamation on the part of Speaker Cannon, who took the floor of the House for that purpose. Mr. Cannon was known in years gone by as the "Watch-dog of the Treasury," but he aided with perfervid eloquence, rather than with any attempt at cool reasoning, this new attempt to increase enormously the burden of pension taxation. It is estimated that if the Sulloway Bill in its present form passes the Senate and is signed by the President, it will add no less than forty-five million dollars to the taxation account—some say fifty-five millions. If this Nation were at the present time a delinquent in the matter of caring for its old soldiers, the case would be totally different. As every one knows, the generosity of the country has been lavish, and, in the opinion of unprejudiced people who have studied the subject, the safeguards against extravagance and fraud have been insufficient. It is true that as time goes on and the number of pensioners and those dependent upon them decrease, the Nation may very properly correspondingly increase the limits of the field of its generosity. But the only way to judge whether that time has come is through the outcome of the existing scale of expenditure. Forty-five years after the war has closed we are spending annually over one hundred and fifty million dollars for pensions—an amount unparalleled in the history of the world; while up to July 1 there were, we believe, about seven hundred and fifty thousand persons drawing pensions from the United States. The provisions of the Sulloway Bill are such that any man who served ninety days in the Civil War and is sixty-two years old would receive a

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pension of fifteen dollars a month, which would increase until, at the age of seventy-five, he would receive thirty-six dollars a month. This is regardless of whether he is rich or poor, the value or lack of value of his services, and the question whether or not he were wounded or incurred disease. If we were now paying a comparatively small amount to a relatively small number of war pensioners, such a measure might be defended; as it is, it does not represent the sober judgment of the country, and we do not believe it possible that it should pass the Senate and be signed by the President.

NEW MEN IN THE SENATE

The new men chosen to sit in the United States Senate accentuate the change already marked in that body by the deaths and retirements of a number of the "Old Guard." For the first time in forty-seven years Maine is to have a Democratic Senator, and, by the action of the State Legislature, he is to be Charles Fletcher Johnson, fifty-two years old, a citizen of Waterville in the Kennebec region. Mr. Johnson is a self-made man. He taught school in winter and worked on a farm in summer to win a college education. Despite the fact that he has been a railway and corporation lawyer, he is rated a Progressive in politics, as contrasted with his predecessor, Senator Hale. Mr. Johnson has served Waterville as its Mayor several times, and has represented it in the State Legislature, where he was minority leader. The result in Connecticut is also significant. The Republican legislative caucus has nominated, not the present Senator, Mr. Bulkeley, to succeed himself, as he hoped, but ex-Governor George Payne McLean. Mr. McLean is fifty-three years old, and has practiced law at Hartford. Though Mr. McLean and Mr. Bulkeley, also a Hartford resident, have been closely associated, the former has been regarded as a more progressive man than the latter. Mr. McLean's term as Governor (1901–3) was signalized by an excellent administration. It is hoped that his Senatorship will also be signalized by evidences of liberal views and progressive tendencies. Mr. McLean is as much a Connecticut product as is Mr. Johnson a Maine product. Both men were born and educated in their respective States. In California the Republican State Legislature elected, not A. G. Spalding, as many anticipated, but John D. Works. Judge Works, unlike Mr. Spalding, who has lived in California but a comparatively short time, has been prominent in the State's politics for many years. He is a native of Indiana and a veteran of the Civil War. He has practiced law in San Diego, was appointed to the Superior bench of San Diego County and then elevated to the Supreme Court of the State. The careers of these three Senators will be followed with interest and with the anticipation that Maine, Connecticut, and California may gain some new prominence in public affairs.

BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT

Rarely in the history of the United States Supreme Court have its proceedings been followed with closer attention than last week. There were two reasons for this: first, the importance of the rehearings of argument in the Tobacco Case and the Standard Oil Case; and, second, the fact that these were the first cases of extensive bearing on public affairs to be heard before the newly constituted bench. The audience in the court-room and the larger audience reached through press reports were especially interested in noting how Chief Justice White and Justice Lurton questioned counsel, and, in particular, how one after another the Justices tried to gain from the opposing attorneys a clear definition of the phrases "monopoly" and "in restraint of trade" as used in the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. It would not be possible or desirable to discuss here, and before the Supreme Court has announced its decisions, the underlying principles involved in these cases, but the fact may be recognized that both the business world and the officers charged with carrying out the law are anxious to have an authoritative interpretation of those questions relating to the Sherman Act which are still in dispute. The decisions of the Supreme Court in these cases may very well have an enormous influence on our future policy and action as regards the form and method to be taken in that

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governmental control over monopolies and combinations the necessity and justice of which are now commonly recognized. The Tobacco Case has now been argued in full; the hearings in the Standard Oil Case are proceeding this week. In the first-named matter the arguments of the Attorney-General, Mr. Wickersham, and Mr. McReynolds for the Government, and those of Mr. Hornblower and Mr. De Lancey Nicoll for the corporation, were all on a high plane of close reasoning, and the "give and take" discussion drawn out by questions from the Court was often animated and quick-witted in a way not often known before that sedate and dignified tribunal. Here is an instance: The Attorney-General had been pressed by the Chief Justice to say whether he held that the Sherman Law required that "ruinous competition" should continue.

> The answer [the press reports state] made by the Attorney-General was to read from Judge Taft's opinion in the Addyston pipe line case, in which the President, when a United States Court Judge, had said in words that a combination in restraint of trade could not be justified on the ground that it was necessary to stop a destructive competition. Commenting on the Taft opinion, the Attorney-General said that "excessive greed leads to ruinous competition," and there is no obligation on those entering into it to continue.
>
> "But suppose it continues until one of the competitors is destroyed and competition in that way is destroyed?" inquired Justice Holmes.
>
> The Attorney-General replied that such a case did not come within the contemplation of the Sherman Law.
>
> "There are laws against homicide and laws against suicide," added the Attorney-General.

Mr. Wickersham declared that the American Tobacco Company was a gigantic conspiracy in restraint of trade. He asserted that the growth of the combination was "stamped with those characteristics which interrupt the free flow of commerce," and which were denounced by the Court in the Danbury Hatters Case. The main position of the Government was expressed by the Attorney-General, in reply to a question from Justice Holmes, as being, not that mere size or power constituted a monopoly, but that when all of the separate acts of the American Tobacco Company were taken together, in connection with the enormous growth of its business and the control it exercised, it constituted an attempt to monopolize trade within the meaning of the Sherman Act.

SAVINGS BANK INSURANCE

The Outlook has several times spoken of the organization and progress of a system of insurance through savings banks in Massachusetts. Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, whose activities and public service in other directions are well known, had much to do with the institution of this system. Savings bank insurance, it is true, is still in an experimental stage and is limited in its application. The plan, however, has now been in operation for over two years, and its present condition may be judged by the report just issued, which carries the history up to the end of the second full year. Only two banks in Massachusetts have actually established insurance departments—the Whitman Savings Bank and the People's Savings Bank of Brockton; but these institutions have, under the law, established a great many depositories (mostly in shops or factories) where people of small means may conveniently hand in the sums to be applied to life insurance. It will be remembered also that under the plan directions may be left with the officers of one of the savings banks engaged in insurance, so that savings deposits or interest may be transferred as required to an insurance account. The soundness of the insurance is guaranteed by a special fund which was, as we understand it, advanced by individuals, but the place of which will be taken by a guarantee fund made up out of surplus profits appropriated year by year to this purpose. This disposition of part of the surplus reduces present dividends, but is evidently wise. The two banks report, at the end of the two years, that together they have outstanding about $1,370,000 of insurance, and that the amount of premium income for the second year was for the two about $59,000, an increase over the first year in the one case of 112.9 per cent, and in the other of 156.9 per cent. A satisfactory dividend was declared on the monthly premium policies. In short, the report indicates that the insuring of wage-earners has been conducted safely and on sound financial

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principles within the limits of the system as it now stands. The main achievement of savings bank insurance, however, the report declares, has been "not the business transacted by the banks, but its force in compelling the great industrial insurance companies to make a reduction of about twenty per cent in their rates and in other respects to greatly liberalize their policies." This, it is estimated, means a saving which will soon amount in Massachusetts alone to about a million and a half dollars a year. It is calculated by the officers of the system that the rates now charged by the largest industrial insurance companies on their weekly premium policies are 31 per cent higher than was the net cost of the savings bank monthly premium policies in the first year of the experiment, and that for the second year the percentage of economy between the two methods has been even larger; while the rates charged by the industrial companies before this movement was inaugurated were such as to make the difference between the cost of the two methods as much as 55½ per cent. The Massachusetts Savings Insurance League has lately carried on a course of educational talks in the schools on the subject of thrift as illustrated by insurance through the savings banks. Altogether, the evidence is strong that the plan has made progress, and that the question is worth careful consideration whether a similar plan might not be wisely introduced in other States.

THE GILDER MEMORIAL

Only about one-half of the fund of $100,000 has been secured to establish in connection with Columbia University a Memorial of Richard Watson Gilder, for many years and until his death a year ago editor of the "Century Magazine." The committee having the fund in charge are anxious to complete the amount. It would be difficult to conceive of a happier memorial of a better citizen than that which contemplates the endowment of successive groups of students to be known as "Gilder Fellows," who are to devote themselves to the investigation and study of political and social conditions in this country and abroad, and to the analysis and interpretation of the practical working of legislation enacted for the purpose of improving civic conditions. Such a memorial is a far better interpretation of the spirit of a man like Mr. Gilder, at once poet and servant of humanity, than any visible and tangible structure, however beautiful; for it is, in effect, a continuation of the work in which Mr. Gilder's heart was so deeply engaged. It preserves and passes on in an active form his great and valuable influence as a leader in the amelioration of social conditions; it will serve to keep before the minds of the students of Columbia University the inspiring example of a man who dedicated himself to the service of his kind in the most practical and arduous ways—a form of ethical teaching which Dr. Jowett predicted would be universally adopted in the future. It will, at the same time, qualify young men of earnestness and ability to contribute in the most intelligent way to the examination of the social and economical problems of the day. Mr. A. S. Frissell, President of the Fifth Avenue Bank, New York, is the treasurer of the fund.

THE PLOT AGAINST THE JAPANESE EMPEROR

Rumors have recently obtained that the plotters against the life of the Japanese Emperor and the lives of the members of the Imperial family and of the Ministers of State were being tried at an entirely secret trial. There has been a consequent feeling that injustice might possibly result. The plot was to have been executed some time last autumn. The plotters were apprehended and imprisoned, a large amount of dynamite having been discovered in their possession. A majority of the prisoners voluntarily confessed their intent. When the plot was unearthed, the Attorney-General, representing the Crown, requested the Chief Justice of the Japanese Supreme Court to designate a judge to make the preliminary investigations required by law. The Judge of Preliminary Investigations of the District Court of Tokyo was appointed, and he, after trying the men apprehended, concluded that all were guilty, and forwarded the records to the Supreme Court. The trial in that court will soon be concluded. But from the beginning of the preliminary examination to the present the whole

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procedure has been in harmony with the Constitution and established laws of Japan. The lawyers for the defendants have high reputation, and for those of the accused who could not afford to engage lawyers the Court, in accordance with the law covering such cases, has designated members of the bar to appear for them at the public expense. As to closing the trial to the public, Japanese law provides that the Court may exclude the general public whenever it deems that publicity is prejudicial to peace and order or to the maintenance of good morals. Such steps are taken from time to time in ordinary cases in all classes of Japanese courts. Of course, in such a case as the present, having a serious bearing on the safety of the Empire, the Supreme Court is specially entitled to see that good order should be protected. As a matter of fact, the trial has been closed only to the general public. Those who have especial or technical interest in the trial—such as members of the Bar Association, etc.—may, by the Court's permission, hear the trial. We note that members of foreign embassies and legations stationed in Japan have availed themselves of this permission.

THE TORONTO STREET CAR SITUATION

Canada as well as the United States has street car troubles. The re-election of Mr. J. R. Geary as Mayor of Toronto, and the popular indorsement of a by-law authorizing the expenditure of a large sum in the construction of municipally owned street car lines, emphasize the embittered state of public opinion in Toronto regarding the service at present rendered to that city by the Toronto Street Railway Company. Certainly the action of the citizens at the polls is a much more substantial protest than that registered a few weeks ago when, following a mass-meeting at the largest public hall in Toronto, the street cars were attacked by a mob, which fortunately did no more serious damage than the breaking of a couple of hundred dollars' worth of window-glass. The grievances of which the people of Toronto complain may be summed up in the one word "overcrowding." The past five years have witnessed a remarkably rapid growth in population, with a resultant expansion of the city territorially, and the car service has signally failed to keep pace with this development. The result is that on many of the principal car lines almost every hour of the day is a "rush hour," and the traffic in the morning and evening hours is so heavy that thousands of people prefer to walk rather than attempt to squeeze their way into cars packed from door to door. To make matters worse, the street railway management, finding, it is alleged, that they were losing many fares on account of the inability of conductors to go through the crowded cars, adopted a "pay-as-you-enter" system, but without equipping their lines with standard "pay-as-you-enter" cars; and at the same time put in force a regulation requiring all passengers to leave by the front door. It was this innovation more than anything else that led to the mass-meeting and subsequent rioting; and since then the obnoxious regulation has been virtually rescinded, while the "pay-as-you-enter" system has been abandoned on all cars save those properly equipped. Toronto, for a large city, does its business in a remarkably small area—the downtown district. Into this section the great majority of business men and wage-earners have to make their way every morning, and from it return to their homes at night. The street car lines just voted for look rather to the extension of car service into outlying districts than to the solution of the downtown problem; and this latter, it would seem, cannot adequately be solved until the present surface system is supplemented by an elevated or subway service, agitation for which has begun. Moreover, even after the new lines are built the problem of their operation will remain, for by the terms of its charter the Toronto Street Railway Company enjoys the exclusive right of surface car operation in "old" Toronto; and until 1921, when the Company's franchise expires, it will be impossible for the city to bring its own cars from the outlying into the main sections.

BAD WEATHER IN EUROPE

The continued rains on the Continent of Europe and in England involve not only very serious discomfort, but a very heavy loss in many ways. Almost a year ago

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Paris was inundated, and the rains have been very persistent ever since. All the rivers are above their normal channels, fields are inundated, and a great deal of out-of-door work is seriously interfered with. Last summer garden houses, boat-houses, and lawns were half submerged in many parts of the country. Many of the most important rivers are now in a chronic state of flood, and "sunny France" for many months has been overhung by a pall of clouds. The same conditions prevail in Spain, where the Guadalquivir and many other smaller and less famous streams are threatening towns and have been destroying crops in many directions. Serious disturbances of normal conditions are reported from Italy. The Alps are prolific in avalanches, and have been almost obscured from view for many months past. It is probably many years since Switzerland has known a season so disappointing to visitors, and the conditions still prevail. From Russia comes the same story, and England is soaked with superfluous water. These conditions have lasted so long and are so widespread that there has been much speculation with regard to their causes. The usual theories of a great weather-rhythm have been advanced, among them the theory of seven wet years and seven dry ones, and Europe is taking what comfort it can from the prediction that good weather will return in 1913. Of course the sun-spots have been invoked; and one eminent authority is of opinion that the rain will steadily increase for several years to come. As usual, this country comes in for its share of blame, and a French astronomer declares that the unhappy weather conditions abroad are due to deforestation in this country. It does not seem to have occurred to this gentleman that deforestation in Spain and Italy may have something to do with the situation. It is said in Spain that when a Spaniard buys a place in the country and there happens to be a tree on it, the first thing he does is to cut it down; and the great stretches of sunburned landscape in that country eloquently bear witness to the absence of foliage. The French astronomer's theory is evidently based on the idea that a certain amount of water must fall, and that if we drive it away from this country, Europe gets it. A still more unpleasant prophecy is to the effect that Europe is now in the heart of a cycle of wet and cold, and that there is no hope for dryness and warmth until 1920.

THE ALL-BRITISH IMPERIAL EXHIBITION

Following the Franco-British and the more recent Anglo-Japanese Exposition in London, plans are now being matured for a great All-British Imperial Exhibition to be held in London, opening in June, 1915, in celebration of the seven hundredth anniversary of the Magna Charta. Certainly the event to be celebrated is one of great interest to all English-speaking countries, as well as all in which free institutions have been established. While at first glance it might seem to be an occasion for a universal exposition, such as that of 1851 and the World's Fairs since held in various countries of the world, perhaps Imperial interests will be best served by making it exclusively a British Empire Exhibition, as the various parts of the Empire are more immediately concerned than others in the great event to be celebrated. It is contemplated to have an exhibition on a larger scale than ever before planned in Great Britain, and no foreign country will be invited to participate. Its promoters evidently have in view the binding together of the various parts of the widely sundered divisions of the Empire more closely by such a participation in an exhibition that shall be strictly British. Lord Hill, one of the promoters of this All-British Exhibition of Imperial resources, arts, and industries, in defining the scope of the coming celebration, says that the products in manufacture, art, agriculture, minerals, timber, fruit, grain, and probably horses and cattle, of every British possession will be shown. In addition, arrangements are being made to have all these various products and exhibits brought to and taken from London over British railways and in British ships manned by British subjects. In still another important particular this Imperial Exhibition will differ from most World's Fairs, in that no national subsidy will be asked for it, each country and Crown Colony defraying the entire expenses connected with its part in the big show.

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NATIONALISM AND POPULAR RULE

*This is the second of the series of editorials by Mr. Roosevelt on the general subject of "Nationalism and Progress." The first of the series was published in last week's Outlook and was entitled "Progressive Nationalism; or What?"—*THE EDITORS.

In Mr. Herbert Croly's "Promise of American Life," the most profound and illuminating study of our National conditions which has appeared for many years, especial emphasis is laid on the assertion that the whole point of our governmental experiment lies in the fact that it is a genuine effort to achieve true democracy—both political and industrial. The existence of this Nation has no real significance, from the standpoint of humanity at large, unless it means the rule of the people, and the achievement of a greater measure of widely diffused popular well-being than has ever before obtained on a like scale. Unless this is in very truth a government of, by, and for the people, then both historically and in world interest our National existence loses most of its point. Nominal republics with a high aggregate of industrial prosperity, and governed normally by rich traders and manufacturers in their own real or fancied interest, but occasionally by violent and foolish mobs, have existed in many previous ages. There is little to be gained by repeating on a bigger scale in the Western Hemisphere the careers of Tyre and Carthage on the shores of the Mediterranean.

If there is any worse form of government than that of a plutocracy, it is one which oscillates between control by a plutocracy and control by a mob. It ought not to be necessary to point out that popular rule is the antithesis of mob rule; just as the fact that the Nation was in arms during the Civil War meant that there was no room in the country for armed mobs. Popular rule means not that the richest man in the country is given less than his right to a share in the work of guiding the government; on the contrary, it means that he is guaranteed just as much right as any one else, *but no more*—in other words, that each man will have his full share as a citizen, and only just so much more as his abilities entitle him to by enabling him to render to his fellow-citizens services more important than the average man can render. On the other hand, the surest way to bring about mob rule is to have a government based on privilege, the kind of government desired not only by the beneficiaries of privilege, but by many honest reactionaries of dim vision; for the exasperation caused by such a government is sure in the end to produce a violent reaction and accompanying excesses. The Progressives, in fighting for sane and steady progress, are doing all they can to safeguard the country against this kind of unhealthy oscillation, of government by convulsion.

A number of Progressive conventions have recently enunciated the following among other principles as necessary to popular government:

Drastic laws to prevent the corrupt use of money in politics.

Election of United States Senators by direct vote.

Direct primaries for the nomination of elective officials.

Direct election of delegates to National Conventions, the voter to express his choice for President on the ballot for delegate.

The introduction of the initiative, referendum, and recall.

In Oregon most of these principles are already law. The recent Republican State platform of Wisconsin has declared for all of these principles; and this declaration is entitled to very serious consideration, for Wisconsin has taken a leading position in Progressive legislation, and has to her credit a noteworthy record of laws for social, political, and industrial betterment, which laws have been proved in actual practice and have worked well.

Most Western Progressives, and many Eastern Progressives (including the present writer), will assent to these five propositions, at least in principle. I do not suppose that there can be any dissent from the need of passing thoroughgoing acts to prevent corrupt practices. The movement for direct primaries is spreading fast. Whether it shall apply to all elective officials or to certain categories of them is a matter which must be decided by the actual experience of each State when the working of the scheme is tested in practice. There is a constantly growing feeling also in favor of the election of United

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States Senators by direct popular vote. On this point, as indeed on most of these points, there is room for honest divergence of opinion, but I believe that the weight of conviction is on the side of those who would elect the Senators by popular vote, and that the general feeling is inclining this way. The arguments made against such method of election are practically the same as the arguments originally made against the election of President by popular vote; and the electoral college was designed on precisely the same theory in accord with which it was supposed that the legislature rather than the people should be trusted to choose the best type of Senator. Such change in Senatorial elections would no more alter the fundamental principles of our Government than they were altered by the change in Presidential elections. At present, although the form of an electoral college is preserved, the vote for President is really a direct popular vote; and this absolute reversal in practice of the theory of the Constitution as regards the choice of the most important public officer in the land offers a curious commentary on the attitude of those who declaim against all change by practice in the construction of the letter of a written Constitution. Again, and for the same reason, it seems to me an admirable plan that there should be a direct election of delegates to National Conventions, with opportunity for the voter to express his choice for President and Vice-President; although, of course, such latitude of action must be left to the delegate as to permit his exercising his own judgment if his first or second choice proves impossible. This is merely slightly to alter the present-day practice when delegates are instructed by State and district conventions to vote for a given candidate.

The proposition that will excite most misgiving and antagonism is that relating to the initiative, referendum, and recall. As regards the recall, it is sometimes very useful, but it contains undoubted possibilities of mischief, and of course it is least necessary in the case of short-term elective officers. There is, however, unquestionably a very real argument to be made for it as regards officers elected or appointed for life. In the United States Government practically the only body to whom this applies is the judiciary, and I shall accordingly treat the matter when I come to treat of Nationalism and the Judiciary.

There remain the initiative and referendum. As regards both of these, I think that the anticipations of their adherents and the fears of their opponents are equally exaggerated. The value of each depends mainly upon the way it is applied and upon the extent and complexity of the governmental unit to which it is applied. Every one is agreed that there must be a popular referendum on such a fundamental matter as a Constitutional change, and in New York State we already have what is really a referendum on various other propositions by which the State or one of its local subdivisions passes upon the propriety of action which implies the spending of money, permission to establish a trolley line system or something of the kind. Moreover, where popular interest is sufficiently keen, as it has been in the case of certain amendments to the National Constitution at various times in the past, we see what is practically the initiative under another name. I believe that it would be a good thing to have the principle of the initiative and the referendum applied in most of our States, always provided that it be so safeguarded as to prevent its being used either wantonly or in a spirit of levity. In other words, if the legislature fails to act one way or the other on some bill as to which there is a genuine popular demand, then there should unquestionably be power in the people through the initiative to compel such action. Similarly, on any bill important enough to arouse genuine public interest there should be power for the people to insist upon the bill being referred to popular vote, so that the constituents may authoritatively determine whether or not their representatives have misrepresented them. But if it is rendered too easy to invoke either process, the result can be only mischievous. The same considerations which are more and more tending to make thoughtful people believe that genuine popular control is best exercised through the Short Ballot have weight here also. There are plenty of cases in which, on a given issue of sufficient importance, it is better that the people should

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decide for themselves rather than trust the decision to a body of representatives—and our present-day acceptance of this fact is shown by our insistence upon a direct vote of the State when the State adopts a new Constitution. But ordinary citizens in private life—such as the present writer, and most of his readers—neither can nor ought to spend their time in following all the minutiæ of legislation. This work they ought to delegate to the legislators, who are to make it their special business; and if scores of bills are habitually presented for popular approval or disapproval at every election, it is not probable that good will come, and it is certain that the percentage of wise decisions by the people will be less than if only a few propositions of really great importance are presented. It is necessary to guard not only against the cranks and well-meaning busybodies with fads, but also against the extreme laxity with which men are accustomed to sign petitions. There was a curious instance of this trait at the recent elections in Cincinnati. Aside from the regular nominees, there was in one district a man nominated on petition. He had enough names put on the petition to insure his running, but at the election he got only about one-seventh as many votes as there were names on the petition. A much larger proportion of men should be required to petition for an initiative than for a referendum, but in each case the regulations both as to the number of names required and as to additional guarantees where necessary should be such as to forbid the invocation of this method of securing popular action unless the measure is one of real importance, as to which there is a deep-rooted popular interest. Oregon has already tried the principle of the initiative and the referendum, and it seems to have produced good results—certainly in the case of the referendum, and probably in the case of the initiative. This, of course, does not necessarily mean that the principle would work well in all other communities, and under our system it is difficult to see at present how it could normally have more than a State-wide application. In Switzerland it has been applied both in the Cantons, or States, and in the Federal or National Government, and it seems on the whole to have worked fairly well. Those who anticipate too much from the new system, however, would do .well to study its workings in Switzerland. There have now and then been odd results. Recently by the use of the initiative a certain bill was proposed to the Federal Legislature. There was such a strong demand for its passage, as shown by the vote on the initiative, and by the general popular agitation, that the Legislature passed it with but one dissenting vote. At the ensuing election the representative who had cast the dissenting vote was, because of having done so, beaten; but on the referendum the people defeated the measure itself! They demanded it on the initiative, all their representatives in the Legislature with one exception voted for it on its passage, they beat the one man who had voted against it, and then on the referendum they defeated the bill itself.

Unquestionably an ideal representative body is the best imaginable legislative body. Such a body, if composed of men of unusual courage, intelligence, sympathy, and high-mindedness, anxious to represent the people, and at the same time conscientious in their determination to do nothing that is wrong, would so act that there would never come the slightest demand for any change in the methods of enacting laws. Unfortunately, however, in actual practice, too many of our legislative bodies have not really been representative; and not a few of the ablest and most prominent men in public life have prided themselves on their ability to use parliamentary forms to defeat measures for which there was a great popular demand. Special interests which would be powerless in a general election may be all-powerful in a legislature if they enlist the services of a few skillful tacticians; and the result is the same whether these tacticians are unscrupulous and are hired by the special interests, or whether they are sincere men who honestly believe that the people desire what is wrong and should not be allowed to have it. Normally a representative should represent his constituents. If on any point of real importance he finds that he conscientiously differs with them, he must, as a matter of course, follow his conscience, and thereby he may not only

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perform his highest duty, but also render the highest possible service to his constituents themselves. But in such case he should not try to achieve his purpose by tricking his constituents or by adroitly seeking at the same time to thwart their wishes in secret and yet apparently to act so as to retain their good will. He should never put holding his office above keeping straight with his conscience, and if the measure as to which he differs with his constituents is of sufficient importance, he should be prepared to go out of office rather than surrender on a matter of vital principle. Normally, however, he must remember that the very meaning of the word representative is that the constituents shall be represented. It is his duty to try to lead them to accept his views, and it is their duty to give him as large a latitude as possible in matters of conscience, realizing that the more conscientious the representative is the better he will in general represent them; but if a real and vital split on a matter of principle occurs, as in the case of a man who believes in the gold standard but finds that his constituents believe in free silver, the representative's duty is neither to abandon his own belief nor to try to beat his constituents by a trick, but to fight fairly for his convictions and cheerfully accept defeat if he cannot convert his constituents to his way of thinking—exactly the attitude that the late Senator Lamar, of Mississippi, took once on this very question, and triumphed, and exactly the attitude that the late Congressman Dargan, of North Carolina, took, at the price of his political life.

Incidentally the referendum is certain to be of great use in a particular class of cases which very much puzzle the average legislator—where a minority of his constituents, but a large and influential minority, may demand something concerning which there is grave doubt whether the majority does or does not sympathize with the demand. In such a case the minority is active and determined; the majority can be roused only if the question is directly before it. In other words, the majority does not count it for righteousness in a representative if he refuses to yield to a minority; while a minority, on the other hand, will not tolerate adverse action. In such cases the temptation to the ordinary legislator is very great to yield to the demand of the minority, as he fears its concrete and interested wrath much more than the tepid disapproval of the majority. In all such questions the referendum would offer much the wisest and most efficient and satisfactory solution.

The opponents of the referendum and initiative, therefore, would do well to remember that the movement in favor of the two is largely due to the failure of the representative bodies really to represent the people. There has been a growing feeling that there should be more direct popular action as an alternative, not to the action of an ideal legislative body, but to the actions of legislative bodies as they are now too often found in very fact to act. The movement for direct popular government in Oregon, for instance, was in part the inevitable consequence of the gross betrayal of their trust by various representatives of Oregon in the National and State legislatures, and by the men put in appointive office through the exertions of these representatives. Moreover, the opponents, and, for the matter of that, the adherents likewise, of the proposed change, when they speak, whether in praise or in blame, of its radicalism, would do well to remember that in one of the oldest and most conservative sections of the country there has existed throughout our National life, and now exists, a form of local self-government much more radical where it applies than even the initiative and referendum. I refer to the New England town meeting, at which all purely town matters are decided without appeal by the vote of the townspeople in meeting assembled. In no other part of the world, save in two or three cantons of Switzerland, and perhaps in certain districts of Norway, is there any form of government so absolutely democratic, so absolutely popular, as the New England town meeting. The initiative and referendum represent merely the next stage. The town meeting has been proved to work admirably as regards certain governmental units where the citizens are of a certain type. The initiative and referendum have been shown to work well as regards certain larger constituencies of a different type. The men living in States where the town meeting has flourished

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for centuries should be the last to feel that the initiative and referendum are in and of themselves revolutionary propositions.

On the other hand, the advocates of the initiative and referendum should, in their turn, remember that those measures are in themselves merely means and not ends; that their success or failure is to be determined not on *a priori* reasoning but by actually testing how they work under varying conditions; and, above all, that it is foolish to treat these or any other devices for obtaining good government and popular rule as justifying sweeping condemnation of all men and communities where other governmental methods are preferred. There is probably no class of men who ought to study history as carefully as reformers—except reactionaries, for whom the need is even greater. A careful study of eighteenth-century France ought to show the reactionary that the rejection, by the beneficiaries of special privilege, of wise and moderate progressiveness, like that of Turgot, inevitably tends to produce the most calamitous explosion; and, on the other hand, the ultra-reformers will do well to ponder the harm done in their turn by the Jacobins, the inevitable reaction produced by their excesses, and especially by the queer attitude they assumed when they first deified the people and demanded the absolute rule of the people and then declined to submit to the judgment of the very people they had just deified because that judgment was not sufficiently favorable.

The initiative and the referendum are devices for giving better and more immediate effect to the popular will. If in any given State—Vermont, for instance, or Massachusetts, or New Hampshire, or New Jersey, or New York—the people are not now ready to adopt either, or even if they never become ready—why! that is their affair, and the genuinely Progressive leader will no more ostracize and read out of the company of Progressives a New England State which thinks it can achieve popular government without the referendum than he would read out some State in another part of the country because it has never adopted the town meeting. Personally, I should like to see the initiative and referendum, with proper safeguards, adopted generally in the States of the Union, and personally I am sorry that the New England town meeting has not spread throughout the Union. But I certainly do not intend to part company from other Progressives who fail to sympathize with me in either view, and I do intend to insist with all the strength I have that each device is a device and nothing more, is a means and not an end. The end is good government, obtained through genuine popular rule. Any device that under given conditions achieves this end is good for those conditions, and the value of each device must be tested purely by the answer to the question, Does it or does it not secure the end in view? One of the worst faults that can be committed by practical men engaged in the difficult work of self-government is to make a fetish of a name, or to confound the means with the end. The end is to secure justice, equality of opportunity in industrial as well as in political matters, to safeguard the interests of all the people, and work for a system which shall promote the general diffusion of well-being and yet give ample rewards to those who in any walk of life and in any kind of work render exceptional service to the community as a whole. We do not want to produce a dead level of achievement and reward; we want to give the exceptional rewards, in the way of approbation or in whatever other fashion may be necessary, to the exceptional men, the Lincolns, Grants, Marshalls, Emersons, Longfellows, Edisons, Pearys, who each in his own line does some special service; but we wish so far as possible to prevent a reward being given that is altogether disproportionate to the services, and especially to prevent huge rewards coming where there is no service or indeed where the action rewarded is detrimental instead of beneficial to the public interest.

Ours is a government of laws, but every one should keep always before him the fact that no law is worth anything unless there is the right kind of man behind it. In tropical America there are many republics whose constitutions and laws are practically identical with ours, yet some of these republics have, throughout their governmental career, alternated between despotism and anarchy, and have

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failed in striking fashion at every point where in equally striking fashion we have succeeded. The difference was not in the laws or the institutions, for they were the same. The difference was in the men who made up the community, in the men who administered the laws, and in the men who put in power the administrators.

If we choose Senators by popular vote instead of through the Legislatures, we shall not thereby have secured good representatives; we shall merely have given the people a better chance to get good representatives. If they choose bad men, unworthy men, whether their unworthiness take the form of corruption or demagogy, of truckling to special interests or of truckling to the mob, we shall have worked no improvement. There have been in the past plenty of unworthy Governors and Congressmen elected, just as there have been plenty of bad Senators elected. Similarly, if the direct primary merely means additional expense without compensating advantage in wise and just action, the gain will be nil. At present there are cities where the direct primary obtains, in which, as far as I can see, the boss system is about as firmly rooted as in those cities where the direct primary has not been introduced. So with the initiative and the referendum. Vermont has neither; Oregon has both. In whichever State there is the less corruption and greater justice, in whichever State the elected representatives of the people are more upright, clean, and able, in whichever State the people are themselves wiser in action, more prompt to recognize and reward good service and fearlessness and independence in judge, Governor, Senator, or Congressman, why, in that State we shall find the best government, wholly without regard to the particular device by which the government is obtained. If both States show equally well in these matters, why, it means that each has devised the instrument best suited for its own needs. It is folly not to adopt the new instrument if experience shows it to be an instrument which usually produces better results; and if we are convinced that it is a better instrument, then we should endeavor by reason and argument to get our neighbors to adopt it; but it is also folly to refuse to work with good men who are striving for the same progressive ends as we are, merely because these good men prefer older instruments than those which we believe to be best fitted for the purpose.

I believe in adopting every device for popular government which is in theory good and when the practice bears out the theory. It is of course true that each is only a device, and that its worth must be shown in actual practice; and it is also true that where, as with us, the people are masters, the most vital need is that they shall show self-mastery as well as the power to master their servants. But it is often impossible to establish genuine popular rule and get rid of privilege, without the use of new devices to meet new needs. I think that this is the situation which now confronts us in the United States, and that the adoption in principle of the programme on which the Progressives, especially in the West, are tending to unite offers us the best chance to achieve the desired result.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE CASE OF ALONZO BAILEY

Some are born to renown; some achieve renown; some have renown thrust upon them. In the latter class belong Onesimus, Dred Scott, and Alonzo Bailey.

These three men were alike in one respect: they all tried to escape from servitude. Two of them failed; the third succeeded. The first secured his reputation from the Apostle Paul; the other two from the United States Supreme Court. They stand together as human algebraic symbols in humanity's problem of liberty.

In the time of Onesimus, slavery was an unquestioned institution; and Onesimus was a token of that sense of human brotherhood that was inevitably to render slavery unbearable. In the time of Dred Scott slavery was an issue that was shaking this Nation, almost its last refuge in Christendom, and Dred Scott was a token of that irreconcilable conflict between freedom and bondage which was about to show itself in war. Now, in 1911, slavery

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is an outlawed thing, and Alonzo Bailey is the token of the Nation's intolerance of anything that bears to it even a remote resemblance.

As a result of the Civil War, the people of the United States adopted three amendments to the Federal Constitution. In the Thirteenth Amendment they declared that involuntary servitude, "except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted," should not exist "within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction;" and by the Fourteenth Amendment, that all persons "born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof," were citizens of the United States; that no State should "abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens," or "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," or "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

One method of attempted evasion of the Constitutional prohibition of slavery was that of peonage. This is not uncommon in Mexico. It is the holding of a person to involuntary service or labor in liquidation of a debt or obligation. Under this system the taskmaster does not undertake to hold slaves arbitrarily; he rather lends or advances money to those whose labor he wishes to use; then, when they cannot repay him, he sets them to work and keeps them in restraint until they return to him in service an amount equal to the sum he has paid them. Since those whom he can secure in this way are likely to be poor and ignorant, he can usually manage to keep them in debt, and thus keep them in restraint and at work for him. To meet such conditions the Congress of the United States passed a measure abolishing "peonage," and it later buttressed that action by providing, as a punishment for any one who should hold another as a peon, a fine, or imprisonment, or both.

For violation of the Federal law against peonage men have been punished. Only the other day one of these men, once powerful and wealthy, and still able to command great influence on his behalf, learned that President Taft had no intention of weakening this law by granting him Executive clemency. To this case we refer more at length on another page. The criminal prosecutions for open violations of the peonage law, thus reinforced by the President's firm insistence that the rich and powerful shall not go unpunished, have done much to stamp out the most flagrant forms of this survival of slavery. Other forms, however, have appeared under the guise of law.

In Alabama, interests that wished to make sure of their hold upon laborers succeeded in persuading the Legislature to pass a series of enactments which made, to all intents and purposes, the breaking of a labor contract on the part of a laborer a criminal offense. In other words, the sanction of the law was given to a labor system which, outwardly at least, was identical with peonage. The law did this by the simple expedient of providing that the mere act of quitting work on the part of a contract laborer was in effect conclusive evidence that the laborer was guilty of a crime. Of course it was not put as simply as this. A number of apparently legitimate provisions were ingeniously dovetailed into one another; but their total result was about as we have stated it. How was this dovetailing done? The experience of Alonzo Bailey will indicate that.

Alonzo Bailey was engaged by a corporation as a farm hand, and signed a contract to work for a year at twelve dollars a month. To bind the contract the company paid Lonzo Bailey (as he is called in the contract) fifteen dollars in advance, so that the actual monthly wages that he was to receive thereafter would be $10.75. After working a month he was presumably paid $10.75; then, three or four days later, he quit work. Under ordinary laws the company might have sued him for breach of contract and tried to get damages from him; but, of course, it would have had its trouble for its pains. Instead the company had him arrested for intent to injure or defraud. Of course receiving money, whether by contract or not, with intent to defraud, is punishable, as any action to obtain money under false pretense would be. In the case of Alonzo Bailey, however, there was no direct evidence—not a syllable of direct evidence—to show that he intended to defraud. Unfortunately for

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Bailey, no such evidence was required. The law expressly authorized the jury to find Bailey guilty of fraud on the fact that he quit work. The words of the law (which apply to contracts for renting land as well as those for labor) are as follows: "And the refusal or failure of any person, who enters into such contract, to perform such act or service, or to cultivate such land, or refund such money, or pay for such property, without just cause, shall be *prima facie* evidence of the intent to injure his employer or landlord or to defraud him." In other words, Bailey was presumed to be guilty of fraud in making the contract and receiving the fifteen dollars because over a month later he exercised the ordinary right of a citizen in leaving his job. Of course *prima facie* evidence is not conclusive evidence; but the law virtually made this *prima facie* evidence conclusive by prohibiting Bailey from testifying as to his own unexpressed intention. Inasmuch as he made the contract in the presence of no one but a representative of the employing company, his intention was unexpressed. Was there no escape from punishment for Bailey? Yes. He could escape jail by paying back the fifteen dollars—or by working out the fifteen dollars. Of course Bailey had no money. To work out the fifteen dollars he would have to go back to his employer and work for a year, unless out of the $10.75 a month which he received as wages he could save enough to make the period shorter. What if he did not repay the amount due in money or labor? Then he was to be fined thirty dollars (that is, double the amount of his debt), or go to work at hard labor. In short, the man was purged of fraud by keeping to his contract. The plain intent of the law was thus to keep contract laborers at work whether they wished to work or not.

Is there any defense for such a law? Yes. A very able defense has been drafted and signed by no less a person than a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Mr. Justice Holmes, and concurred in by a colleague, Mr. Justice Lurton. Those who wish to see how ingenious reasoning can lead an acute mind to disregard simple facts of human experience will do well to read the dissenting opinion in the case of Alonzo Bailey, Plaintiff in Error, vs. The State of Alabama. In spite of that subtle defense, the Supreme Court has decided that this law is a violation of the United States Constitution. The constitutionality of the law was called in question on several grounds: first, that it violated the prohibition against involuntary servitude; second, that it denied to the plaintiff in error the right to due process of law; third, that by laying a burden upon an employee without laying any equivalent burden upon the employer it denied the Constitutional right of equal protection of the laws. Following its usual custom, the Supreme Court, finding one sufficient reason for declaring the law unconstitutional, declined to discuss any other reasons. In very clear language, that will probably often be cited in the future, Mr. Justice Hughes delivered the opinion of the Court. After setting forth the clear intent and effect of the law, Mr. Justice Hughes declares distinctly that the law is in conflict with the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, which prohibits the existence of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime. He declares that this prohibition "cannot be transgressed indirectly by the creation of a statutory presumption, any more than it can be violated by direct enactment." This law, therefore, if it establishes involuntary servitude, does not do so in punishment of crime. Does it, then, establish involuntary servitude? Mr. Justice Hughes, after a consideration of peonage as prohibited by Federal statutes, reaches a conclusion which may be summarized in this sentence of his: "Without imputing any actual motive to oppress, we must consider the natural operation of the statute here in question, and it is apparent that it furnishes a convenient instrument for the coercion which the Constitution and the Acts of Congress forbid; an instrument of compulsion peculiarly effective as against the poor and ignorant, its most likely victims."

Thus slavery met its first enemy in the simple sense of human brotherhood, typified by the experiences of Onesimus; received a death-blow in the great struggle between North and South, typified by the experiences of Dred Scott; and has now,

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in its attenuated but far more ignoble form, become outlawed through the experiences of Alonzo Bailey.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE RUSSIAN JEW

No American can read Mr. Rosenthal's article in this issue of The Outlook without asking, "Can we do anything?" We can do much. That the Russian Government is not indifferent to foreign opinion, and is anxious to avoid giving ground for offense to other countries, has been shown more than once; and therefore the opinion of Western Europe and of the United States is a very important factor in the protection of the Jews from oppression in that country. If the story of recent treatment of these unfortunate people could be told with dramatic detail, the whole world would be stirred, and people would open their history of the Middle Ages to find any parallel to the sufferings of human beings. In a recent address, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, of New York, one of the leaders of opinion of the progressive wing among the Jews in this country, recently declared that the method of massacre which a few years ago filled the newspapers with terrible atrocities has been succeeded by a less dramatic but even more tragic method of "peaceful extermination," which has taken the form of a system of merciless repression and degradation; and Mr. Rosenthal confirms this statement. In many places throughout Russia the commercial boycott has greatly enlarged the miseries of the Jews, and pushed them down into a still deeper poverty. Jewish soldiers who have honorably completed their terms of service in the Russian army are not permitted to return to the towns from which they were taken. Dr. Wise makes the appalling statement that Jewish girls in some cases have registered in university towns as prostitutes, in order that they might be permitted to live in cities where higher educational opportunities were afforded them. At the same time, the Ministry of Education has greatly lessened the educational facilities open to Jews, and certain schools and universities are half deserted by reason of the compulsory absence of Jewish students. From towns like Kiev and Smolensk Jews have been driven in crowds. Insanity has terribly increased among the Jews in the Pale as the result of tyranny and oppression. One-third of the members of the Duma signed the bill providing for the abolition of the Pale; and their punishment for treason has been seriously proposed. The miserable condition of great numbers of Jews in some cities is indicated by the fact that in one city seventy thousand applied for alms in a single week. In another, all the resident Jews are registered in the criminal department. To a deputation from a Jewish conference which waited upon the Russian Premier to protest against these terrible grievances the Premier gave no assurances whatever, but sent the deputation away with a severe lecture.

Dr. Wise was right in saying that the Jewish question in Russia has ceased to be a Jewish or Russian question, and has become a question of humanity; and he is right also in declaring that the consciences of statesmen outside of Russia have been in many cases chloroformed, and that an appeal must be made to the nations. Mr. Tchaykovsky has warned the West that as long as Russia enjoys a sense of security in regard to other nations the policy of oppression at home will be continued. Influential Jews out of Russia are doing what they can in many quarters to relieve the sufferings of the members of their race in that country. Many Jewish bankers in this country and in England have resolutely taken the position that they will not strengthen the Russian Government by financial aid so long as it continues its course of persecution. Suggestions have recently been made to the President and the Secretary of State that Russia be compelled to comply with the provisions of its treaties and to recognize the foreign passport without discrimination. It is the belief of the Jews out of Russia that when foreign Jews are enabled to enter Russia and travel freely through the country it will be impossible for the Government under any pretense or by any form of logic to deny the same right to the Jews resident in Russia. Meanwhile every advantage ought to be taken to put on record the protest of Americans against this intolerable tyranny. The General Convention of the Episcopal

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Church, recently held in Cincinnati, unanimously passed a resolution declaring: "Whereas the situation of oppression and violation of men's inalienable rights by the lawless elements in Russia is growing more intolerable each year, and whereas the persecution seems to be chiefly directed against our Blessed Lord's ancient people Israel, depriving them in many instances of life and property; Therefore, be it resolved: First, that we protest against the unfair and inhuman treatment of the Jews; and, second, that this is not in any sense a desire to enter the realm of politics or to interfere in governmental affairs, but a solemn protest and expression of our deep sympathy for our suffering brethren."

This expression of a great body of men and women who are among the most influential in the United States expresses the sense of horror with which Americans look at this persecution; and such resolutions ought to be put on record by every organization which in any way expresses public sentiment in this country.

NO!

Mr. Andrews, the Delegate from New Mexico, has introduced into Congress a bill donating three hundred thousand acres of unappropriated non-mineral land in New Mexico to J. B. Pitaval, Archbishop of Santa Fé, and his successors, to be held by him in trust for the establishment of a manual training school for the youth of New Mexico.

It is not probable that this bill will ever be reported out of committee. It is hardly conceivable that it should ever pass the House. But the incident is significant of the fact that somebody in the House of Representatives wants the Nation to help support the Church. And whenever any man makes this demand Americans should answer emphatically, No!

We believe that Mr. Pitaval is a Roman Catholic archbishop. We should say No! just as emphatically if he were an Episcopal bishop, a Methodist bishop, a Presbyterian elder, or a Congregational minister. No union of State and Church! No union of State with any Church!

Is the teaching of the people to be intrusted to the Church or to the State? The answer of United America, from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from ocean to ocean, is, The State. If the Church wishes to teach, she must pay for her own schools. To appropriate three hundred thousand acres of land to a Church school is to tax every citizen of the United States for its support. The enforced contribution is small; but it is an *enforced* contribution. Churches in America depend on voluntary contributions. They do not tax the people.

In Spain revolution is threatened in the growing desire of the people to emancipate the schools from Church control. In Portugal the resolve for emancipation has produced a revolution. In France, in self-protection, the Republic has been forced to prohibit Church schools because Church schools were teaching hostility to the Republic. In England the attempt to establish State education has been halted by a Protestant Church. We have won the battle for free education in America. The question is no longer an open one here. The principle may be stated in a sentence:

ALL SCHOOLS SUPPORTED BY THE STATE MUST BE CONTROLLED BY THE STATE.

PROGRESS

Progressive democracy and progressive Nationalism are not inconsistent movements; they are two phases of one and the same movement. Progressive democracy is a movement toward more power of the people in the government. Progressive Nationalism is a movement toward more power in the government, or, to speak more accurately, more exercise of power by the government, over the special interests. They both have one and the same end in view—the control of the special interests by the people. Events since the last election, especially in the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Ohio, illustrate the progress which this twofold movement is making. And we repeat what we have said heretofore: the progress of this movement in both political parties is far more important than the victory of either party over the other.

In Massachusetts Senator Lodge, vio-

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lently assaulted by the Democratic Governor-elect, appeals against his assailant to the people and gives to them an account of his administration of his office. He says that, often as he has spoken to the people of Massachusetts in favor of certain principles and policies, this is the first time in his career that he has spoken in defense of himself. We do not take this as an apology. It is rather a frank recognition of the fact that it is not a "boss," it is not even the Massachusetts Legislature, that is to pass upon his record; it is the people of the State. And it is to be assumed that the Legislature will endeavor to carry out the judgment of the people of the State.

In Connecticut Governor Baldwin, who represents conservative democracy—certainly no one would accuse him of being a radical—makes in his Message recommendations which cannot be regarded as other than concessions to a growing public sentiment. Among these are his recommendations for the popular election of United States Senators, for the election of State Senators by the people at large instead of by Senatorial districts, for new legislation as to employers' liability, and for a "careful consideration" of direct primaries. We stated last week why we regard these recommendations as not sufficiently thorough, but none the less, perhaps the more on that very account, they indicate both the movement and the power of public sentiment.

More emphatic are the cordial recommendations of Governor Dix in New York State, reported in last week's Outlook. State Conservation, direct primaries, the reformed ballot, better protection of employees, more stringent restrictions upon child labor, parcels posts, popular election of United States Senators, all receive urgent recommendation. In all these cases there is no indication of a hesitating concession to public sentiment. Reform, which the Connecticut Governor is willing to consider, the New York Governor urgently recommends. Governor Dix's attitude is the more significant because it is in contrast with the tone of Mr. Sheehan's published letter—Mr. Sheehan being the Tammany candidate for United States Senator. No trust magnate will apprehend any peril to the special interests from a candidate who, like Mr. Sheehan, promises to "approach" the subject "in the spirit of the broadest patriotism" if further legislation is "necessary;" who hopes that the railway rate regulation already enacted "will prove efficient and satisfactory;" and who has not a word to say respecting Conservation, but is valiant in his opposition to "executive usurpation."

In New Jersey and in Ohio the controversy in the Democratic party itself between popular rights and special interests is even more clearly marked: in New Jersey, where the question is whether the popular vote or the special interests shall determine the choice of United States Senator; in Ohio, where popular sentiment, though not formally expressed, has defeated the Democratic "Old Guard."

The *methods* by which the people shall exercise their control are still matters for debate. The referendum, the initiative, and the recall may or may not become a general practice. And the line of demarcation between the authority of the States and the authority of the Nation is, and perhaps always will be, somewhat elusive and ever fluctuating. But he must be either singularly dull or singularly indifferent to the signs of the times who does not see in current events the growing determination of the American people that not only political and educational institutions, but also industrial organizations, shall be carried on for the benefit of the people—not for the special and exclusive benefit of the few; and that to secure this result the government, whether local, State, or Federal, and alike in the executive, legislative, and judicial departments, shall be clothed with whatever powers are necessary to protect and promote the people's welfare. It is just as democratic for the people to intrust a Governor or a President with needed power, so long as he is responsible to the people for its exercise, as it is to intrust needed power to a Legislature or a Congress. And the principles of democracy no less require that all the people of the Nation shall control in all those affairs which concern the people of the Nation as a whole, than that the people of a State shall control in those affairs which concern only the people of the State, and the individual shall control in

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those affairs which concern only himself.

THE SPECTATOR

The Spectator had journeyed from Lemberg—or Lwow, as the Poles love to continue to call it—at the eastern end, to Cracow, at the western gateway of the Austrian province of Galicia. On the morning following his arrival in the old Polish capital he sallied forth into the market-place surrounding the historic old Tuchhaus, where, on April 10, 1525, Albert, Duke of Brandenburg, the last Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, tendered the oath of fidelity to King Sigismund of Poland, thus marking the end of the effort of this religious military order to obtain political control of Polish soil.

Like the market-place in Lemberg, the great open space was a riot of color. It was covered with groups of muscular peasant women wrapped in shawls of conventional design in which red was the dominant color. These partly covered their red and pink waists. Upon their heads were brilliant kerchiefs. A large number were barefooted. A few wore big, rough boots. Some stood, while others sat among the wares scattered about on the great solid blocks of stone forming the pavement of the square. And their wares! They seemed to be selling everything under the sun. There were not only vegetables, but live ducks, chickens, and guinea-fowls resting complacently on the pavement in pairs, utterly unconscious of the fate hoped for by their owners. Then there were cherries and raspberries and huckleberries. The market for the last mentioned apparently was not good. The blue lips of two girls squatting behind a big basket suggested that the owners were lightening the burden to be carried home on their backs in another fashion than that which was their object in coming to market. Nor were there absent household articles such as the frugal peasant housewife and mother, or even the thrifty mistress of the town household, might wish. There were baskets, wooden utensils such as spoons and sieves, tinware and toys in variety. The peasants made their bargains in harsh, masculine voices roughened by life in the fields.

Fronting on the square was a high-vaulted edifice of rough-looking brick. The open doors beckoned hospitably to those peasants who, their day's business transacted, desired to partake of the blessings or consolations of religion before they turned their footsteps homeward. The Spectator stepped inside, and was astonished at what he saw, for the dingy exterior gave no hint of the glowing color and richness of decoration within. With its blue and red and gold and silver it was a veritable jewel-box of color and carving. It was even over-decorated, the Spectator thought. The effect upon the eyes was like that of the cloying fragrance of some flowers upon the olfactory organs. A mass was being sung at one of the side altars, and many worshipers had entered to participate in its benefits. In the main, they were peasant women from the market, with baskets on their arms and bundles on their backs. Their bare feet went slip, slip, along the uneven stone floor, unless, perchance, they wore boots, when they moved along the aisles with a clump, clump. One, a wrinkled old woman, had sunk in a corner in a heap, and, with closed eyes, was telling her beads. Some had knelt in the aisles, their baskets still upon their arms, choosing places as close to the wall as possible, or dark corners, as if they were afraid of the Holy Presence. Others, on the contrary, had crept close to the altar and knelt upon its steps, as if they would have a full measure of blessing. One had with her a holy picture, which she held up before her as if she would thus obtain a blessing upon it before she hung it up on the wall of her little room in the rough cot she called home, out in the country. As they finished their prayers, which they said with hands pressed together before their breasts, finger-tips under their chins or clasped in front of them, they prostrated themselves in Oriental fashion and kissed the dusty stones where the feet of others had trod. In the center of the aisle knelt a peasant in black, one of the few men in the church, who typified for the Spectator the stratum of humanity to which he belonged. His rough cloak swept the floor. His coarse

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black hair fell over his ears and was cropped square all around his head like that of a child. His face was deeply etched, and looked as if it had never worn a smile or reflected an independent thought. In these severe, toil-burdened, adoring figures the Spectator saw expressed two facts that made his heart ache. Save for religion there was no source of solace for this burden-bearing race of men and women who seldom smiled. And this race knew not freedom of body, mind, or soul.

The Spectator turned to leave the church. As he walked back into the shadows which clung about the exit at the rear he came upon a woman kneeling and praying earnestly. Upon her back was fastened her daily burden, a bundle. On her arm hung a basket. Fervently she prayed, her eyes turned upward toward the image upon the wall. The tiny flickering flame before it threw her appealing face into strong relief against the background of shadow. Her eyes glistened with moisture. The light grew and grew in them as she prayed. The Spectator was reminded of a Mary kneeling at the foot of a cross as he studied the white face reflecting the transports of the soul and its crown of smoothly combed hair parted and drawn under her kerchief.

"I was mistaken in thinking that all these people have careworn faces," said he to himself, as he watched the rapt expression on the face of the woman, oblivious to all around her. "Here is one who has not. I would like to have a picture of this Madonna."

She evidently was about to rise from her place among the shadows and leave the church. The Spectator hastened out by a side door into the sunshine to catch another glimpse of this lovely illustration of the power of religion. A woman came out of the door and stopped a moment to look at the religious articles exposed for sale about the deep, weather-worn arch. Then she approached the Spectator, and he saw that she was wrinkled and o d She stooped and picked up an envelope which in his haste he had dropped and until then had not missed. This she handed to him in a courteous manner. He looked at her a second time. Could this be the woman he sought? There were the basket on her arm and the bundle on her back. It seemed probable, but he would make sure. He looked all about the church, within and without, until there was no doubt in his mind. This seamed face was the glorified countenance he had been studying.

As the Spectator looks back at the incident he is inclined to think of it as a greater miracle than he considered it to be at the time. The effacement of the lines in the worn face of the ignorant old peasant woman may have been due to the scant illumination from the little lamp at the foot of the image. But the Spectator felt at the time that it was a genuine transfiguration, an experience which is seldom seen in life, and doubtless comes more frequently to the simple soul with a highly developed religious instinct, such as that of Joan of Arc, than to the more sophisticated of the human race. To this simple, needy soul, perhaps, had been vouchsafed a joy and consolation beyond the dreams of those who are overwhelmed with the temporal blessings of this life.

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THE MARTYRDOM OF THE RUSSIAN JEW

BY HERMAN ROSENTHAL

Mr. Rosenthal, the author of the following article, was born in Russia, but has lived in this country for many years. He organized, in Louisiana, the first agricultural colony for Russian Jews in America, and afterwards started similar colonies in New Jersey and South Dakota. He has been for twelve years chief of the Slavonic Department in the New York Public Library, and is the editor of the Russian Department of the "Jewish Encyclopædia." His special knowledge and means of obtaining the facts accurately make what he has to say on the present subject of positive value.—THE EDITORS.

FEW persons beyond the borders of Russia have any conception of the actual conditions that prevail among the Jewish subjects of the Czar. The Russian Government has seen to that. Press censorship and "influence" are fairly effective in minimizing the publication of damnatory truths, while press subsidies and again "influence" are very useful aids in neutralizing the effect of such truths as have crept into the light, and in spreading the impression that the devil is not so black as he is painted and that Russian bureaucracy can be tender-hearted.

As a cold matter of fact, the policy of the Russian Government toward the Jews is brutal, tyrannical, and cruel. In three decades one and a half million Jews were forced to leave the Empire. In a series of terrible "pogroms," or anti-Jewish riots—outbreaks stimulated and countenanced by subtle Governmental policy—thousands of helpless Jews have been murdered, many more thousands crippled or wounded, and robbery or destruction of the property of the victims has left their widows and children destitute.

There are, of course, a few wealthy Jews who buy complete immunity—everything is for sale in Russia—and these few live in peace. But the masses of the Russian Jewish population of over five millions are very poor. For the most part the Jews are herded together in the cities of the provinces known as the Pale. They may not live in the country districts, nor buy, lease, or manage real estate therein. Those who because of their occupations have under the law been privileged to reside in cities outside the Pale now, after years of legal residence, find the privilege withdrawn through some arbitrary distortion of the law, and are suddenly driven from their homes. The Jew is almost excluded from State service. Legally the calling of judge is not barred to the Jew; yet, in spite of the great number of Jewish jurists, there is in the whole empire only one Jewish judge, a relic of former years, while the few Jews who were formerly employed as State attorneys or court justices now belong to the history of the past. Similar is the relation of Jews to public instruction. Excepting the teachers in Jewish schools and teachers of Jewish religion, there are no Jewish teachers in the primary, secondary, or high schools. Equally "free from Jews" are the various professorships; and of the Jewish lecturers who succeeded in establishing themselves during the more liberal era, but few remain. Jews are taxed, and heavily taxed, for education, but only a small percentage of their children may enter the Russian schools. No Jew may enter the navy, the frontier or quarantine service, or the gendarmerie. Jews may serve in the army—in fact, they furnish from thirty to forty per cent more soldiers than their proper allotment—but no Jew may become an officer. The Jew may die for "Holy Russia," but he need look for no reward. Sixty thousand Jews served in the war with Japan. A ukase of 1904 promised a general right of residence within and without the Pale to all of these who should be found to have served worthily. But the Russian Government is bound by no promises. This privilege was denied even the Jewish volunteers who endured privations and sustained wounds in the defense of Port Arthur.

The Jew is the daily sport of oppressive special laws so constantly distorted by conflicting "interpretations" that he knows not what "common right of man"

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may be withdrawn from him to-morrow. It seems that the Jew has no right that the Russian Government is bound to respect. He is, moreover, at the mercy of a rapacious police. It is estimated that every year the Jews pay from twenty to twenty-five million rubles blackmail. Bribery is their sole, humiliating defense.

But from the Jewish point of view it is not robbery, deprivation of rights, or even murder itself that is most to be deplored. More terrible than all these is the inevitable consequence of ever-present fear and persecution—the moral degradation of a race. For this crime Russia will be responsible, but not Russia alone. Civilization cannot escape the penalty for the deeds that civilization has permitted.

RUSSIA'S JEWISH POLICY

Russia's present unpardonable policy, appealing as it does to the brutal instincts of the ignorant masses, has been followed ever since the accession of Alexander III in 1881, when the first pogroms shocked the civilized world.

Since that time the persecution of the Jews has been unremitting, with periodical massacres and wholesale expulsions. The atrocities of the Romanov dynasty have finally culminated in a tendency toward the complete extinction of the Jewish race in Russia. The originator of this policy was Pobyedonostzev, called the Grand Inquisitor of Russia. His plan aimed at the expulsion or forced emigration of one-third of the Jews, the absorption of another third into the fold of the Orthodox Church, and the complete annihilation of the remaining third by the gentle expedient of depriving it of the means of subsistence. This apparently impossible and suicidal policy was not taken seriously abroad. But the brutal treatment of the Jews during the past two years shows that the Russian bureaucracy "that make their wills their law" are attempting to realize even the impossible. Jews are hunted from place to place like common criminals. Expulsions, persecutions, and the inevitable blackmail create an economic distress and an industrial confusion which compel vast numbers to seek safety in emigration, and wreck the careers of many who cannot even take refuge in flight. From time to time short cable items appear in our daily papers under such headings as "Russian Pale Enlarged," and we read that "the Emperor Nicholas to-day approved the Cabinet resolution opening up new sections for the residence of Jews." Then follows a list of the supposedly new localities. To non-Russians this list is slightly misleading. How many American readers would be likely to know that the provinces mentioned in the cable—Vitebsk, Volhynia, Mohilev, Poltava, and Kherson—always belonged to the Pale of Settlement? It is no secret to the initiated that before launching a new loan the local authorities expel Jews from villages, so that the Central Government may later allow them to return to their places, and thus blazon its liberality to the world! This pleasant expedient has been employed so frequently of late, and has caused so much misery, that last summer one hundred and sixty delegates, in spite of the triumphs of the reactionaries, were moved to introduce in the Duma a bill aiming to make an end to the greatest calamity of the Russian Jews—the unceasing struggle for the right of domicile. Thirty other members of the Duma have promised to support the bill. Whatever the fate of the proposed act, its discussion may at least reveal the true situation of the Russian Jews. Recent, and evidently inspired, articles in Russian reactionary periodicals show clearly that the Government is attempting to counteract the impression that will be created by the debates on the measure.

THE POGROMS

It is now nearly thirty years since the existence of the Russian Jewish masses was first made unbearable by pogroms and legislative oppression. In the years 1881–1883, the records show, there were two hundred and twenty-six pogroms in various cities and towns of South Russia and Poland. In these riots, with all their murders and unspeakable cruelties, more than seventy thousand Jews, mostly from among the poorest classes, were despoiled of their possessions to the amount of ten or eleven million rubles. Yet the pogroms and atrocities of these years were greatly surpassed by those of the epoch of Kishenev-Syedletz. In the October days of 1905 alone, seven hundred and twenty

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five places were disgraced by riots whereby over two hundred thousand Jews suffered a direct loss of nearly sixty-three million rubles. In two governments, Chernigov and Yekaterinoslav, every fifth Jew was among the sufferers, while in a great number of other places almost the entire population was directly affected by the pogroms. In the riots covered by the period October, 1905, to September, 1906, more than a thousand Jews were killed and many thousands were wounded or crippled. The murdered men left 386 widows and 1,641 orphans. The direct loss sustained by the Russian Jewry in this era of pogroms exceeded one hundred million rubles. But even this is a small fraction of the vastly greater loss occasioned by general economic demoralization. The actual losses that have been thus inflicted may be safely estimated at hundreds of millions.

THE RESTRICTIVE LAWS

The system of special enactments concerning Jews and the arbitrary interpretation of these laws have reached into the most vital economic relations and have created a mass of legal ambiguity that invites extortion by major and minor officials. The Jewish masses have always served as a rich source of graft for the insatiable *chinovniks*, or officials, for the interpretation of the law has been largely left to these gentry, and they do not neglect their opportunities. According to a calculation of Prince Urussov in his "Memoirs of a Russian Governor," the "extra income" of the police in his government of Bessarabia alone amounted to over a million rubles annually. Most of this sum was exacted from Jews. On the basis of this statement it may be estimated that the Jews in the whole country pay annually for protection to the police officials amounts of from twenty to twenty-five million rubles. The Russian bureaucracy will certainly oppose with all its might the emancipation of the Jews, since with the repeal of exceptional laws all the special income of the police would be abolished.

The extent to which the exceptional laws are interpreted according to the pleasure of the bureaucracy is evident from the fact that more than three thousand Senate interpretations since 1881 deal with the Jewish question. In these interpretations the Senate—the highest tribunal of justice in Russia—has exhibited the most shameful inconsistency and subservience, at different times construing the same laws in various ways to suit the changing moods of the Government.

STATE SERVICE AND PROFESSIONS

The restrictions as to the employment of Jews in State service are most sweeping, extending down to the position of scribe in the police court, and even to police guard. The great Russian police machine employs Jews as stool-pigeons only, thus demoralizing those among them who are inclined toward police activities, in order to heap upon them the greatest odium. While there are in the various Russian Ministries individual Jews who, on account of their special knowledge of affairs, are made use of in certain departments, these few officials are glaring exceptions. Theoretically the only requisite for State service is a high school diploma. The law merely stipulates that preference be given to a Christian over a Jew. In practice, however, a Jew can enter State service only after baptism.

A notable exception was made in the more liberal era in the case of Jewish physicians, who, especially in the Russo-Turkish War, distinguished themselves and reached the grade of superior officers—even of generals. But the pressure of anti-Semitic tendencies in 1882 led to the establishment of a military regulation whereby the appointment of Jewish physicians in the army was limited to five per cent. In consequence of this regulation and of the discriminations in other directions, the Jewish physicians have been almost eliminated from the army. However, at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian military administration tore away without any regard hundreds of Jewish physicians from their civil professions and drove them to the most dangerous points of the theater of war, dismissing them immediately after the conclusion of peace.

MILITARY SERVICE

But if the rejection of the Jews from State service in Russia is generally only an administrative practice, their exclusion

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from the rank of commissioned officers is a matter of law. Since 1887 the Jewish volunteers have not even been allowed to take examinations for promotion. Additional restrictions are also in force in the army. As I have said, no Jew may serve in the navy, in the frontier or quarantine service, or in the gendarmerie; and since 1889 no Jewish soldier serving in a military orchestra may occupy the position of leader, while the proportion of Jewish musicians in a military orchestra is limited to one-third.

On the other hand, it has been statistically demonstrated that the oft-repeated assertion that the Jews do not furnish enough soldiers is a malicious invention. The truth is precisely the contrary. In consequence of special regulations and of administrative quibblings, the annual levy of recruits from among the Jewish population of Russia is proportionately far greater than that drawn from any other class of subjects. The Russian Jews furnish every year from thirty to forty per cent more soldiers than their legal quota. Thus it happened that the Jewish soldiers who fought in the war against Japan amounted to the enormous number of nearly sixty thousand.

Yet, in spite of the fact that the census of 1897 has indisputably proved that the Jews bear the heaviest burden of military service, the Russian administration always manages to ascribe to them a deficit—and for two good reasons. In the first place, the anti-Semitic press is supplied with more material for the calumny that the Jews evade their military duties. In the second place, here is another pretext through which millions are extorted from the already burdened and impoverished Jewish masses. There is a regulation of 1886, applicable to Jews only, establishing "family responsibility" for recruits. The effect of this provision is that should any Jew whose name has been drawn as a recruit fail to report for service at the proper time, even though he may delay but a few hours, his relatives must pay a fine of 300 rubles. It makes no difference if the name of the "recruit" is that of one who emigrated years ago, or died, even in infancy; no matter what proofs may be offered, the penalty still remains. This oppression hovers like a terrifying ghost over the Ghetto, descending on those who have least reason to anticipate it. Suddenly the poor Jew is informed that he must pay the Government the unattainable sum of 300 rubles because some relative over whom he had no control has emigrated or has died. Thousands, already poor, are thus made still poorer; while many, their last belongings sold to pay the fine, are driven to beggary.

CIVIC DISABILITIES

In municipal affairs the Jew must bear the heaviest burdens of taxation without receiving the ordinary rights of citizenship. Under a degrading law of 1892, no Jew can either vote for, or be elected, alderman. The governors of the provinces comprising the Pale of Jewish Settlement are empowered to select from among the Jewish inhabitants of each city several representatives for the municipal assembly. Their number must not exceed one-tenth of the whole body, and is usually fixed by the Minister of the Interior. Even in cities where the Jews constitute three-fourths of the population they have in reality neither a direct nor an indirect voice in the regulation of municipal affairs. In such places illiterates and drunkards, in virtue of the fact that they are not Jews, often rule over an intellectual and well-conducted populace. Those Jews who are appointed to the assembly by the governor, far from being representative, are likely to be men of inferior character out of all sympathy with the governed.

EDUCATIONAL RESTRICTIONS

From the American standpoint, every child is entitled to an education; but even education is denied to a great proportion of the Jewish youth. Under Nicholas I and Alexander II the Russian Government wisely made great efforts to induce the Jews to renounce their traditional Talmudic studies and to enter the State schools, offering concessions and privileges to students. This far-sighted policy was productive of results advantageous both to the Jews and to the Empire. But times have changed. Since 1886 the Ministry of Education has adopted regulations limiting the proportion of Jews to be admitted to secondary institutions, high schools, and colleges—in the capital cities to three per cent of the total admissions,

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in other towns to five per cent, and in the cities of the Pale to ten per cent. Moreover, a number of secondary institutions and high schools are entirely closed to Jews. It is only in the commercial schools that the regulations have been relatively mild, but the present Ministry of Education is endeavoring to shut out Jewish children even from these schools.

Such cruel limitations bring about a condition that is simply barbarous. Only a small proportion of the Jewish children can be admitted to the schools, and which shall be the favored ones is supposedly determined by competitive examinations. Therefore the Jewish youths for years are drilled, tutored, and crammed in order that they may pass brilliantly, while the parents zealously seek all means to further the chances of their offspring, naturally in the Russian atmosphere of corruption often resorting to bribery of teachers and directors. Nothing could be more demoralizing to both parents and children. What with the fierce struggle for the privilege of schooling, and the struggle to retain that privilege when secured, it is small wonder that so many brilliant Jewish youths are exhausted in body and broken in spirit at the threshold of the university. And there the same struggle must be repeated. Jewish applicants for vacancies in the university wait year after year for the opportunity of matriculation. Thousands, at length grown hopeless, give up the fight or emigrate to complete their education abroad; and the Russian Government refuses the privilege of general residence to Jews who hold the diplomas of foreign universities. Even the Jew who obtains the coveted Russian university diploma finds his progress in his profession hampered by numberless restrictions.

LANDHOLDING AND FARMING

A Jew may not buy, lease, or manage real property except in the towns and cities in the Pale of Settlement. This prohibition has altogether paralyzed the development of a Jewish peasantry in Russia. At the beginning of the eighties there was a strong "back to the land" movement among the Russian Jews. A substantial fund to promote this agricultural enterprise had already been subscribed, when the enactment of the May Laws put an end to all efforts in this direction by rendering it impossible for Jews to develop the established agricultural colonies, or to found new ones within the limits of the Russian Empire. The 200,000 Jews now engaged in agriculture in Russia are mostly the descendants of farmers of earlier times, or are engaged in gardening within the limits of towns and boroughs.

Under the law Jewish artisans are privileged to reside in almost all parts of Russia, but they may not acquire real estate in the cities outside of the Pale, for the Senate has pointed out in an interpretation that the Jewish artisan enjoys the common right of residence only so long as he exercises his handicraft; should he give up his trade he would lose this right; therefore every Jewish artisan dwelling outside the Pale must be considered a temporary resident who cannot acquire property for life.

THE RIGHT OF RESIDENCE

The greatest affliction of the Russian Jews, and the cause of the recent exhibition of Governmental violence against hundreds of these unfortunate people, is the limitation of the right of residence. The great majority of the Russian Jews are rigorously herded in the large cities of Poland and the so-called Pale of Jewish Settlement, for only in these cities may they reside. Comparatively small numbers have been able to preserve old residential rights in the villages or country districts of the Pale. Scattered through the rest of the Empire are about a quarter of a million Jews, some of whom have retained old rights of residence in their localities, others belonging to certain privileged classes to whom the right of general residence is accorded by law. But the whole policy of the Russian Government is to withdraw all rights of external residence, and to pack the Jews closer and closer in the great cities of the Pale.

The Pale of Settlement consists of fifteen provinces, comprising a twenty-third part of the Empire, namely: Bessarabia, Wilna, Vitebsk, Volhynia, Grodno, Yekaterinoslav, Kovno, Minsk, Moghilev, Podolia, Poltava, Taurida, Kherson, Chernigov, and Kiev. Russian Poland is not in the Pale, but there also Jews may live.

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The other thirty-five governments of European Russia, the Caucasus with its eleven governments, Siberia with its nine provinces, and the provinces of Middle Asia, are generally closed to the Jews.

RIGHTS OF JEWISH ARTISANS

Under the law the privilege of residence in any part of the Empire is supposedly accorded to Jewish old soldiers, merchants of the first guild, members of certain professions, and artisans pursuing their calling. But while even members of the higher "privileged classes" are deprived of their rights on many pretexts, their condition is idyllic in comparison with that of the artisans and skilled laborers. These are subject to a degrading and costly espionage, and are in continual fear of sudden expulsion. Should an artisan give a night's lodging to a relative who has no right of residence, he forfeits his rights. For a Jewish artisan to have some side line besides his handicraft is also fatal. Watchmakers have been expelled because they sold watches and chains; bakers because they sold coffee; ritual butchers because they sold meat to non-Jews. Such "crimes" as these, moreover, afford the inventive police enviable opportunities for making money.

As soon as the sons of a Jewish artisan become of age, if they have not themselves acquired the right of residence, they must abandon the paternal home and return to the Ghetto. Similarly, married daughters whose husbands do not belong to the privileged classes cannot remain even temporarily in the house of their parents. Should the Jewish artisan become incapacitated by old age, he must wage a long fight with the police administration over his right of residence in a place where he has lived and worked for years. Moreover, the Senate has repeatedly declared non-privileged many callings that formerly conferred the general residential right. Thus tobacco workers, piano-tuners, fish salters, butchers, rubber-menders, bricklayers, diggers, and others have been declared not to be artisans and have been sent back to the Ghetto. Considering these oppressive conditions, it is hardly surprising that, in the course of decades, only about ten thousand Jewish artisans—that is, about two per cent of the half million Jewish workingmen in Russia—have found their way to the interior governments, while hundreds of thousands of this class have emigrated to transoceanic countries.

EXPULSIONS

In addition to the legally privileged, there are unquestionably large numbers of non-privileged Jews whom economic conditions have compelled to break through the artificial territorial barriers and to settle in prohibited places. These unfortunates are the sport and prey of the police. The richer pay enormous sums to be allowed to remain, always in fear and trembling, while the poor are pitilessly driven back to starve in the overcrowded cities of the Pale. Inevitably the privileged suffer with the non-privileged. Recently the administration has not hesitated to include in its proscriptions children and paralyzed old men.

Whenever a particularly strong wind of anti-Semitism agitates the official atmosphere, local authorities are quick to show their zeal. Then follow raids, arbitrary expulsions, and the imprisonment of non-privileged Jews as examples. At such times Jews, or persons whose features are considered by the police to have a Jewish cast, have been actually stopped in the streets and required to prove their right of residence.

The constant Governmental harrying is naturally productive of great economic distress. At one time, for example, at least forty per cent of the Jews of Odessa were forced to resort temporarily to the public charities. Worse yet, the victims are broken in spirit and degraded in the eyes of their neighbors. Such spectacles as night raids on the homes of privileged Jews and the public expulsion of troops of innocent Jews, herded by squads of police, arouse cowardly, brutal mob instincts that find vent in the murderous pogroms for which the Government seeks to evade responsibility.

THE JEWS OF THE PALE

And now, what is the lot of the Jews in the Pale of Settlement? In this great Ghetto, created by the strong arm of Government, ninety-five per cent of their number are confined. Here their condition might not be insupportable, if only they had freedom of movement. But the

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assertion that even a twenty-third part of the Russian Empire is open to Jews is a fiction. In reality only a two-thousandth part of the Empire is free to them. For the May Laws of 1882 definitely forbade the Jews to settle in the villages, and since 1887 they have even been forbidden to move from one village to another. Only those who were residents in a village in 1882 may continue to live there, and the number of these is steadily diminishing. A temporary absence from the village is sufficient to forfeit the privilege, and women usually lose it by marriage. For a long time Jews who had gone to the cities for the holidays in order to participate in the divine service were not allowed by the police to re-enter the villages, under the pretext that they had forfeited their rights. Many have been expelled, in spite of the testimony of their neighbors, simply because the police failed to register them as residents when the May Laws went into effect. If one pretext fails, another will serve a despotic Government in a war against helpless individuals. In some villages the Jews cannot even obtain cemetery plots, because the acquisition of real property by them outside the city limits is contrary to the spirit of the May Laws. They are forced to drag their dead to the neighboring towns.

Another device was beautiful in its simplicity. Hundreds of places which in the official directories had figured as townlets suddenly, in the early nineties, were declared to be parishes, and as such not open to Jewish settlement. So enormous was the injustice of this movement, supported by Senatorial decisions, that even Plehve relented so far as to restore to a considerable number of these places their urban standing. But this mitigation was applied ten years after the catastrophe, after thousands of Jews, especially in the governments of Chernigov and Poltava, had sustained irretrievable loss.

The Jews are fairly driven into the great centers, and then they are upbraided for their tendency to gather in the cities.

THE RIGHTS OF FOREIGN JEWS

Russia is practically closed to foreign Jews. Of the great number that formerly lived there but few remain. Under a regulation of 1891, foreign Jews representing known firms may obtain a permit for a three months' sojourn in Russia, and after their arrival the permit may be extended for six months at the utmost. All other Jews wishing to visit the country must receive special permission from the Minister of the Interior. Permanent residence in Russia is allowed only to the following classes of foreign Jews: (*a*) physicians and rabbis when invited by the Government; (*b*) founders of factories; (*c*) foremen when engaged by manufacturers for factory work. Members of all these classes must overcome great official obstacles, and their entry into Russia is a rare occurrence. But if a foreign Jew desires to engage in commerce in Russia, he must obtain special permission from three Ministers—the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of Finance—and must pay the tax of the first guild. Such are the precautions taken by the Russian Government to prevent Jewish capitalists from becoming a power in Russia or exploiting the wealth of the Empire! Yet the same Government is more than ready to resort to the same capitalists when confronted by the problems of a depleted treasury.

GOVERNMENTAL DUPLICITY

Recently the attitude of the Russian Government and of local administrations toward the Jews has varied according to the political tendency of the moment. Promises of reform have invariably been followed by bitter reaction. And the vacillations of the Government have served to trick many Jews out of their rights. Sometimes it seems as though contradictory Government circulars were designed for that very purpose. Thus the Stolypin circular of May 22, 1907, induced large numbers of Jewish merchants and artisans to discontinue observing the formalities necessary to maintain their residential rights, by promising permanent rights of residence. But the wavering Minister of the Interior, yielding to reactionary forces, in 1909 issued a supplementary circular which actually annulled this promise. Then the Jew who, relying on the first circular, had lost his old rights by non-observance of formalities, even though he had been a legal settler for thirty years,

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lost all privileges. No better trick to defraud old residents could well be devised; but anything is possible when a government can tie a string to every promise.

THE EXPULSIONS OF 1910

The Jews were not long left unconvinced of their error in trusting the promises held out in the first circular. In many places the new, supplementary circular gave a long-desired opportunity for persecution. In Kiev thousands were marked for expulsion. The police inaugurated a series of night raids, invading hotels, the homes of private citizens, surprising clerks in the shops, and expelling many singly and in groups. In the spring of 1910, acting on orders from St. Petersburg, the local authorities sent orders of expulsion to 1,150 families in Kiev and to 238 families in the suburb of Demiyevka. The petitions of non-Jewish merchants who protested to the Government that the wholesale expulsions would cause great economic damage, the protests of Jewish delegations, and, lastly, the attacks of the foreign press, had but little ultimate effect. The names of a small fraction of the proscribed were stricken from the list, but for 1,200 Jewish heads of households with their families the order remained. Those who could not obtain the right of residence by paying the guild tax —and but few could afford it—had to quit the locality. Most of the expelled went voluntarily to Odessa, Warsaw, Cracow, Lemberg, or emigrated to America. Among these a girl, deranged by her experiences, flung herself from the window of the express train that was taking her to Odessa, and was killed.

TYPICAL INSTANCES

Many expulsions are the results of direct orders or hints from St. Petersburg. Officials everywhere are incited to inquire carefully into the rights of residence of the Jews within their jurisdiction. Lack of zeal in this direction is not tolerated. Thus the Governor of Livonia was reprimanded for his indifference to the question, whereupon he soon found the required victims. In Rostov, hotels and restaurants were suddenly raided, and many Jews, large numbers of them legally privileged, were expelled. Among those listed by the police for expulsion from Tula were four women of from sixty to eighty years who had long lived there. To evade expulsion they contracted fictitious marriages with old soldiers of Nicholas I, and thus secured immunity. In Tashkent forty families were ordered out, with but three days' grace. In the middle of winter, with the thermometer far below zero, dozens of Jews were driven from Irkutsk, among them children, and men seventy years old. In Vladivostok the Governor directed that every expulsion from the capital should be communicated to the other cities of the province, so that the expelled might find no refuge. In Smolensk, in the winter of 1910, twenty-one dentists were first expelled. A goodly number of artisans followed, the order for their expulsion stating that "their applications for the right of residence have not been looked into, and until this has been done they must leave the city." Acting under orders of the Governor, the police, on May 17, surrounded the townlet of Potchinok, consisting of two hundred houses, but at first secured only ten Jews for expulsion. A regular hunt in the neighboring forest, however, resulted in the capture of sixty more, chiefly young clerks. In consequence of the expulsion of these young men several wholesale houses were obliged to close for a time for lack of employees. From city after city artisans were expelled on the easy claim that they had lost their rights of residence by not pursuing their trade. The artisans are usually meek victims, for most of them are too poor to defend their rights, and injustice to them makes but little stir.

All other persecutors, however, yield the palm to Dumbadse, of Yalta. After violent denunciations and brutal inquisitions, he expelled a large number of Jewish artisans, and, when some of these in their extreme misery offered themselves for baptism, he declared that this would not save them. In his hatred of the Jews, Dumbadse issued the most frantic orders. He expelled from Yalta all the Jewish soldiers of the Wilna regiment which garrisoned the town, thus even daring to affront the military authorities.

Emulating the exploits of Dumbadse, Governor-General Hoershelman, of Mos-

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cow, signalized himself by expelling from the city three little children because they did not hold the privilege of residence in their own right! Their father, Raitzy, had obtained a personal right of residence in Moscow as an employee of a merchant of the first guild. Their mother, in her capacity of midwife, possessed a similar right. Being unable to deprive of their right either husband or wife, the Moscow authorities, with the consent of the Minister of the Interior, expelled their three children, respectively four, eight, and ten years old. The Senate canceled this order on the ground that it is not only a right but also a duty of parents to keep their children. But this Moscow decision is illustrative of many similar cruelties perpetrated by the bureaucrats and police that are not even reviewed by the higher authorities.

TRAVELERS AND SOJOURNERS

In some places the authorities have conceived the idea of preventing Jews, while traveling, from setting foot in their domain. The priority in this annoyance belongs to Dumbadse. He did not allow Jews coming by steamer to disembark in his city. A Jewish physician, from his profession belonging to the first privileged class, was, on his arrival at Yalta, ordered to depart on the first steamer leaving for Theodosia. His request to be allowed to continue his voyage to Eupatoria was denied, because this would entail his staying overnight in Yalta. It happened that this physician had served with distinction through the Japanese War, carried official testimony to his "political reliability," and still belonged to the reserve. But why should the military record of an army physician have any weight with the capricious satrap of Yalta, when his own Imperial Government had withdrawn the promised general right of residence even from the Jewish volunteers who fought at Port Arthur! As for Jewish invalids seeking health at Russian resorts, the barbarities to which they are subjected, in the face of the protests of physicians, furnish but too many additional instances of the brutal whims of a bureaucracy.

On every side the Russian Jew is beset with chicanery, extortion, and numberless annoyances, great and small. He cannot tell what future a benign Government may next prepare for him. Until the great iniquity of the laws of exception, the restriction in the right of residence, is removed, he cannot hope to struggle upward. It seems too much to hope, but some day, perhaps, the rulers of Russia may recognize the truth that Frederick the Great phrased long ago: "Bigotry is a tyrant that depopulates the countries. Toleration is a tender mother who nourishes them and makes them flourish."

THE HOUR OF SUFFERING

BY EDMUND L. PEARSON

ON Saturday afternoons, in the winter, they took us by force, took us from the street where snow dams could be constructed in the gutter, took us from the back yards where snow forts were made, and led us struggling to the bath-tub. Then, making us array ourselves in stiff and uncomfortable garments, they sent us forth to learn "dancing and deportment" from a tyrant called Miss Chick.

It was not so much the dancing-school itself that afflicted us. It was not the period that extended from three o'clock to five that plunged us in misery. That, albeit a form of entertainment which we never should have elected, was bearable. It had its decent moments. For instance, when the boys were assembled in the dressing-room, crowding their feet into pumps a size and a half too small, it often developed that Charley Carter, by a judicious employment of howls, roars, and screams at the prospect of having to come to dancing-school, had extorted five cents from some member of his family. This sum he had nobly expended in "conversation lozenges" at Dr. Dibden's

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drug-shop, and he now passed these pleasing confections about with a generous hand.

The conversation lozenge (like many other great inventions, such as the decalcomania and the paper-weight with a snowstorm in its inside) seems to be suffering a decline of popularity. It is worthy of a place beside the animal cracker. Its joys were both gustatory and literary. Before putting it into your mouth to experience its delicate peppermint flavor you could read the words imprinted (in beautiful pink letters) on its face. A field for experimentation was opened by the lozenges, for it was diverting to observe how long the pink lettering would resist the power of suction. We came to accept Jimmy Toppan's dictum as correct in the main, and I quote it here for the benefit of whatever scientific or learned bodies may care to read the opinion of one of the most thorough of investigators:

"After three sucks you can just read the letters, an' after four there's only some little faint streaks left, an' after five they're all gone too."

The makers of conversation lozenges seem to have conceived them as aids to courtship, for the nature of the mottoes was sentimental in the extreme. This was not altogether to our taste, but it had its compensations. It was an old and honorable custom, between the dances, to hand one of the sickliest of them to one of the fuzzy-haired little girls into whose society we had been impelled, with the assurance that it came from some particularly bashful boy. This caused great irritation to the persons concerned, and corresponding delight to all others.

The pleasant moments in the dressing-room were soon over, however, and the piano, reinforced by the martial tones of Miss Chick, summoned us to "take partners for the march." Those who hung back, or tried the expedient of hiding under coats, were rounded up and driven forth to the hall, where the girls (who liked this sort of thing—or pretended to) were already seated in a long row.

Then two hours of a dancing lesson had to be worried through. We had found that retreat to the dressing-rooms was of little avail—even if we extended that retreat to the fire-escape. The vigilant teacher would discover us. But the hall was also used for theatrical performances, and it was possible to escape back of the stage, continue the flight behind the scenes, and, when Miss Chick's footsteps were heard, to emerge into the hall again by the door on the other side. Miss Chick would find us dancing industriously when she had completed the circuit of the stage. Thus, even though we could not absent ourselves long at a time, a certain variety was injected into the dreary afternoon. It was not until the iniquitous teacher brought her sister with her to the lessons that this method of respite proved useless. With one Miss Chick coming from each direction we were bound to be caught somewhere in the dark passage.

We regarded the dancing lessons as a sort of contest between ourselves and Miss Chick. It was her duty to teach us to dance, and it was ours to resist her to the uttermost. Two or three of us were eminently successful.

But we always managed to get a fair amount of pleasure, of one sort or another, from the afternoon. The real hour of suffering came at the time of preparation. It may be said, indeed, to have begun hours, even days, earlier. Far back in the week—Thursday, perhaps, or Friday—others at school would be planning important excursions for the half-holiday on Saturday. They were going skating on the Artichoke River or the Frog Pond. Or there was to be a general movement with sleds and "double-runners" toward March's Hill, or perhaps a plan to "hook rides" on the sleighs that dashed up and down Elm Street on those bright, cold afternoons. Boys whose parents did not insist (with outrageous inhumanity) on dancing and deportment were making these happy agreements. And when we were asked to join, some one would say, with an intolerable sneer:

"Oh, they have to go to dancing-school!"

The dun cloud of sorrow rolled down and enveloped us. It lifted for moments during the next day or two, but by noon on Saturday we were again in its midst. After the midday meal (like the breakfast

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of a man who knows that the gallows awaits him) there was an hour of freedom. It was spent outdoors. Before two o'clock came the call. The torture-chamber was prepared and the instruments ready.

Eminent among these might be named a hair-brush of a style in vogue in that day. It and all its fellows may have passed from the earth—I do not know. Probably any member of the hair-brush tribe would have been unwelcome then. This particular brush had not bristles, but certain steel gads with which to lacerate the skin. The ingenious fiend who invented it and the barbaric ruffians who manufactured it recommended it as an excellent thing for the scalp. We held firmly to the opinion that they meant that it was an excellent thing with which to get a scalp. We fancied that some Indian braves with whom we were on familiar terms always carried at their belts one of Dr. Kaltblut's celebrated hair-brushes.

There was a scene in one of Mayne Reid's books over which we loved to dwell. A parley is being held in a ruined church in Mexico. Some palefaces have agreed to a powwow with a band of bloodthirsty redskins. By the terms of the agreement all large weapons—rifles, bows and arrows, spears, and the like—are to be left outside the church. But nothing has been said in the treaty about side-arms. The white men are suspicious of the Indians, and so they go to the conference each with a death-dealing Colt's revolver ready to his hand. As they file into the church from one side the Indians enter at the opposite side. Instantly the leader of the white men sees that the Indians too have come armed, for each brave carries in his right hand—

"One of those hair-brushes," said my brother, as, breathless, we turned the page.

But no; it was merely a tomahawk. Mayne Reid had done his best, but, after all, we could have given him some points about deadly weapons.

There were sundry annoyances, too, connected with getting into one's best clothes and fastening a broad, stiff collar. The thought of the tight patent-leather pumps (even shiny as they were) was depressing. But all these torments came late in the operation, when we were numbed by suffering. We had been through an experience which made us regard them with more or less indifference, much as a victim who has just been torn on the rack might look upon such minor punishments as thumbscrews and red-hot pinchers.

I refer to the putting on of new woolen underclothes.

Where they got them I do not know. What they were made from, how they managed to have concealed in their texture small sharp sticks, straws, and other itching and prickly objects, I am still unaware. How each new washing roused them up once more in all their original sin, of this I am ignorant. Of one thing I am sure. There is a single great moment in life. It is not when you cast your first ballot, proud as you may be; it is not when you see your name on the title-page of a book. I doubt if it is when you hear that you have inherited a fortune, when you are awarded a medal for astonishing heroism, when you discover the North Pole, or when you take the oath as President.

All of these are as nothing compared with the sublime moment when you emancipate yourself from such prickly garments as the ones which formed the first layer of our costume on those sad Saturdays.

We stood, right from the bath, and clad in nothing at all. We eyed the pestiferous things, and whimpered. We knew from experience how they would feel. Jimmy Toppan used to hook one end of the undershirt on a bed-post, and then stretch and strain at the other end, bawling the while dismally. His object was to enlarge the shirt so that as little as possible of it should come in contact with his person. In the meanwhile there came frequent commands from another room to "Hurry!"

But we did not hurry. We discovered that a spot on our backs or the sole of one foot had not been sufficiently dried, and we returned to the bath-room to dry it. Or we requested the favor of being allowed to resume the garments just cast into the clothes hamper. When this had been vetoed, we entered into disquisitions on the utter superfluity and wanton extravagance of wearing underclothes, anyhow. Why did we have to wear them?

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Or we suggested that perhaps there were some poor little boys in the neighborhood—there was Peter Fletcher, for instance, who didn't own any underclothes. Hadn't we better give ours to him? We did not like to be selfish in cold weather.

It was of no avail. We did not know that we had a fellow-sufferer who was later to be a poetess. She was to put it all into one immortal quatrain:

"But most of all I cannot bear
To put on winter underwear—
I love the cold, I love the snow,
But woolen things do itch me so!"

SOME SUCCESSES OF AMERICAN WOMEN[1]

BY MRS. NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS

THE contrast between the American woman of to-day and her Puritan grandmother is well set forth by the story of the little girl who lamented because she had no "really, truly grandma," and, being asked what she meant by a really, truly grandmother, replied: "Why, the kind that sits by the fire and knits and tells stories. My grandmother plays golf and is president of a woman's club."

There is always lingering about the human mind a misty halo which settles down upon people and events of the past, softening the acute angles and mercifully subduing the glaring lack of harmony. We have unanimously lauded our grandmothers for their economy, their thrift, and their self-sacrifice, and possibly not beyond their desert, but it has occurred to but few that, in spite of the faults, manifest and annoying, of the woman of the present day, the contrast is due more largely to her environment than to the woman herself.

The Puritan was thrifty and economical largely because she had to be so. There was little opportunity for her to spend had she chosen to do so, and she was in an environment where there was little temptation to idleness or extravagance. After the first primitive needs are supplied the wants of human kind are dictated more largely by what one's neighbor has than by what is actually required. It becomes chiefly a question of pride and ambition.

The Puritan woman had pride in making her resources meet her family's necessities. Her neighbors did the same. Her husband had need of her, and she responded as a woman always has responded to the cry of need. Moreover, she was limited numerically and geographically. There were few of her, and the few there were represented little difference of class. Doubtless there may have been some drones even in these hives, but drones and butterflies soon live out their existence. So long as their number is small and they are the exceptions, no one is sufficiently interested to write them down in history.

Times have changed since then. The narrow strip of population in the East has stretched to the other side of the continent, and the prosperous settlement has become a great city. With the increase of numbers and prosperity the class of butterflies and drones has become large enough to attract attention. The whole face of things has undergone a change. The man of to-day has acquired the necessities. He has also the comforts and the luxuries. His pride is in the extent and lavishness with which he can supply his family's desires, partly because of his love for his family, partly because his success is thus announced to the world. The love of conquest is still burning within him, and, since it cannot be conquest by war (this being increasingly an age of peace), nor conquest by the chase (since his ancestors have left little for him to hunt), he is reduced to the pursuit of the

[1] This is the first of several articles by Mrs. Hillis relating to the work and thought of American women, to appear in The Outlook during the present year.—THE EDITORS.

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mighty dollar, and, like his predecessors, his conquest is successful.

This puts the American woman in entirely new circumstances. There is no great material emergency imperatively calling for immediate action which she must rise to meet. What she would do if there were she demonstrated during the Civil War. What she is now called upon to do is to adapt herself to new conditions and new needs. Because of the general prosperity these needs and opportunities are not insistent upon the average, the typical woman, and there is greater variety in the ways in which she may utilize her resources and her position than ever before. It is for her to decide what is the wisest or most attractive way to spend her leisure and her strength, rather than any immediate juncture of public events which plainly and sharply points out the path for her. How she has done this, some of the ways she has taken, and with what success, it is the aim of this article to suggest.

Looking over the field broadly, it appears to be a wide variety of activities with a good average of moderate success along many lines which she has achieved, rather than isolated and striking attainment in any one department.

We have had no artists, authors, or composers of the very first rank, either men or women, as yet, and the reason is easily deduced. Our country has never experienced the conditions of the Homeric age. The simplicity and close-to-nature living of the Pilgrim Fathers was not the normal existence of the people who lived it, and it lacked all the spontaneity and freedom of the life into which people are born. They had voluntarily chosen a life of struggle and hardship for the sake of principle, and they were keyed up to an unnatural pitch. There could not be spontaneity and free exercise of the imagination, finding expression in poetry or art or music. From that period to this the transition has been too rapid to permit the quiet, undisturbed growth and blooming of the finer flowers. Nevertheless, good work, if not of the first rank, has been done by both men and women. Since we are now concerned with the latter, the names may be mentioned of Cecilia Beaux in painting, Emma Eames, Nordica, and Geraldine Farrar in opera, Julia Marlowe and Maude Adams on the stage, and there is a list of writers of more or less reputation too long to be quoted without injustice or tedium.

But it is along the line of action rather than thought and creation that the American finds his place. The old comparison of the every-day greetings of the nationalities is not without significance. The German, with his placid philosophy, inquires how things go with you—you being the fixed point about which things move—or how you find yourself amidst the changes of events and circumstances; the Frenchman is concerned as to how you carry yourself, what appearance you are presenting; he will gayly face death or danger with his accustomed nonchalance and *savoir faire*, but ridicule—never! The American, beginning to create a nation and to carve out his own fortune when others were well on their upward or downward career, is concerned with the all-important question, "How do you do?" He has done so effectually that we now find ourselves, at the end of a century and a half, in a condition of wealth and luxury which most nations have hardly reached after many centuries.

Several causes have worked to bring this about: a country unprecedented in extent and natural resource; a people whose native stock, representing the acme of courage, endurance, and energy, has been continually enriched by the grafting on of other stock of every conceivable virtue or characteristic; and, finally, a democratic government which, faulty as it may be, has not hindered the working out of any problems which these conditions have imposed.

And so it comes about that, for the first time in history, woman is no longer limited to two or three channels into which she may pour her energy and vitality, and it naturally happens that the ways she has chosen to express herself are many and diverse, almost as varied as those of the other sex.

Having been limited for countless generations to two occupations when she has been driven to seek self-support, she, so to speak, long ago pre-empted these two vocations. Whether or not it is desirable

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that the number of men engaged in the profession of teaching should become less and less, and the number invading the province of needle and shears increasingly greater, is another story. The fact remains that over 300,000 teachers in the United States are women, and that they occupy every position, from teachers of kindergartens and primary schools to the presidency of women's colleges. That they are called to these positions more and more argues for their fitness and success. One has only to mention the names of such educators as Catherine Beecher, Mary Lyon, Emma Willard, Alice Freeman Palmer, or, to come to our immediate day, Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, Superintendent of Schools in the city of Chicago and recently elected President of the National Association of Teachers, as illustrative of this point.

From the days of the pioneers to the Presidents of Wellesley, Mount Holyoke, and Bryn Mawr there has been great development in the educational work done by women. The story is too long and too well known to be repeated here. What is not so familiar is the variety of new forms of education which are being thought out and which are demonstrating by successful operation their real value and worth.

A college course is undoubtedly the most desirable of all forms of training, broadening a woman and fitting her for leadership and for a comprehension of any work which may come to her, and enabling her to grasp and handle any situation more easily and more effectively. It is the highest form of study and is necessary to the maintenance of a general standard; but the variance of temperament and gifts, the difficulty in the paths of life lying before young women, make it necessary and desirable that there should also be special training for special work. The schools which have arisen to meet such needs are largely the result of the thought and planning of women, and represent their success in a very important department. The Manual Training School for Girls in New York City is a notable instance of such a school. Its finished product is a young woman able to command a higher position of self-support than otherwise she could have attained without many years of hard experience.

The various schools for training nursery-maids in connection with babies' hospitals comprise another form of education which has been worked out by women. They have made it possible, after a few months' preparation, for a girl of moderate education to secure wages twenty-five per cent larger than untrained work of the same class can command. At the same time they have made possible intelligent, skilled care of the young child in homes where the mother is young and inexperienced, or where, through multiplied demands upon time and strength, she finds that she cannot give her child the proper care for its best physical welfare. One of the pleasantest and at the same time most valuable features of this work is that the girl who enters this training is not taken out of the line of preparation for the duties which naturally come to women in their first and highest vocation—motherhood and the care of children—but develops greater fitness in that very work.

Of course this is also true of the better-known profession of the trained nurse. From the early days of Clara Barton that work has increased in efficiency and popularity until now it draws to its ranks girls from every walk of life, from the modest home where the pecuniary reward is a strong incentive, to the home of wealth and luxury where the spirit of chivalry or romance may be the motive. It is one of the few vocations left which appeal to the spirit of self-sacrifice.

The professions of law, medicine, and theology have all been invaded by women. If there are as yet no names which stand out as "bright particular stars," it may be that it is too soon to expect to see them. A moderate position occupied by a woman stands for a much greater degree of success than the same position held by a man, since public opinion grants her its favor grudgingly, and she works against greater odds.

That women can hold their own in the business world is no longer an open question. There are few lines of work undertaken by men which have not also been tried by women. So long as they are willing to accept the subordinate positions with low pay there is little difficulty, but as soon as they try for positions of responsibility and reward they meet, not

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only the competition of the other sex, but the stronger opposition of the laws of a business world organized, and perhaps rightly so, on the supposition that a man's wages should be sufficient to maintain a wife and family, and that he expects to occupy his position permanently, while a woman works for her individual support and more or less temporarily.

Therefore the success which a woman wins in the business world, as in the professions, indicates a higher degree of ability than the same achievement on the part of her brother. Incidentally there is a temptation to comment on this fact, which is generally overlooked, and also upon the habit of judging the success of a woman who has entered the business world, not by proportioning her success to the numbers thus occupied, the time, training, and resources involved, but by a comparison of her success with the achievements of men who stand out as exceptions in striking contrast to the thousands who fail or attain only mediocrity. It is hard to look upon a woman at the head of a business undertaking as otherwise than more or less of an experiment, notwithstanding that there are many who have demonstrated their ability. That woman certainly possessed the business instinct who built up the tea and grill rooms in Marshall Field's great dry-goods establishment—said to be the largest in the world—to a capacity of three thousand to five thousand people daily, in a manner which made it famous throughout the Northwest for its delicately prepared food and its efficient service.

The work which has been done here and there in civic matters by women has found much inspiration in the accomplishment of one woman, Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane, of Kalamazoo, Michigan.

In her own city, and very largely by her own influence and inspiration, she has had the satisfaction of seeing streets made cleaner and at less expense, yards and gardens beautified, slaughter-houses and dairies properly inspected, a system of "visiting housekeepers" inaugurated, hospitals, almshouses, and workhouses improved, and the water supply purified. And other cities have followed this example.

But these successes are, after all, exceptional, and are more in the face of, rather than according to, the laws of society as it is now organized. More in harmony with its constitution and with her own position therein is the development of the large movements of public interest and welfare which have sprung into being since the Civil War, and which are now a prominent feature in every city and village. Beginning originally with the Women's Boards for Missions, closely followed in 1861 by the work of the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War, at its close women were ready for the organization of other boards of missions, of other boards for various forms of philanthropy, and for the woman's club movement which has spread over the entire country and is prominent in every town.

There is now hardly a city to be found where there are not societies for the extension of some form of missions; boards for the support of hospitals or other benevolent institutions; chapters for the promotion of patriotism; and clubs for civic and municipal improvement or for culture in art, music, and literature. Begun in a small way, gradually growing by natural accretion and by careful, intelligent utilization of every possible resource, the results have astonished even the planners of these movements. As business enterprises they have exceeded all expectations. Last year the various woman's boards of foreign missions in this country raised and disbursed more than $4,000,000. This insured the support and maintenance of hundreds of schools, hospitals, and dispensaries all over the face of the earth. The work in this country was done very largely by women whose service was gratuitous and given from their leisure from home cares, and with probably as small a percentage of expense in the handling as such a sum ever involved.

This is but illustrative of many organizations for philanthropy. Many of the hospitals and homes in our great cities are officered and managed entirely by women. The same is true of the Young Women's Christian Associations, which not only handle a large amount of money yearly, but—a more difficult proposition—provide counsel and supervision for a large number of people.

The patriotic societies of different kinds are dotting the land with monuments,

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scattering literature broadcast, and preserving historical sites and buildings which will some day be of inestimable value to the Nation. The originators of movements of such breadth and value were women of no mean ability, nor are they carried on by weaklings.

But the sphere where woman has made her first, last, and greatest success, and where there will always be the first, last, and greatest need of her service, is in home-making. The tendency of the day is towards fewer homes, but, though the home-maker is rarer, fortunately the type is far from extinct. The rewards of a definite income, however small, and of a constant companionship of her own age, attract many young girls to shop and factory life—girls who do not realize that by this choice of occupation they are committing two evils. They are cutting themselves off from the possibility of a proper training for the career for which every true woman hopes in her inmost heart, and they are filling a place which belongs to a girl who has no choice, but must earn her livelihood. Every place filled by a girl to whom self-support is unnecessary lessens the chance for some girl a little less well qualified, makes competition a little keener, and brings down the scale of wages for both men and women, thus making the possibility of a home in the future a little more distant for herself or for some one else. Girls do not realize this when ambition or restlessness drives them out of their homes to seek self-support. Most of them would indignantly deny any part in making the conditions of a workingwoman's lot more difficult and her life thereby a harder one, but it is true, nevertheless.

More far-seeing is the work done in building up the home spirit, in providing ways and means by which the laws of home-making are better understood; in instituting classes and places of training for girls shut out from the ordinary opportunities of learning to keep house, to cook, to sew, or in raising the standard of intelligence in domestic science by careful study of the ever-recurring problems of properly prepared food and clothing and the still more neglected and imperfectly comprehended science of intelligent spending.

Much attention has been given to this line of work by women, particularly in the city of Boston, where schools and courses of study have been provided and where experimental kitchens have been conducted. Much literature has been prepared and disseminated. Some of the higher schools have adopted courses of training, and one school at least—the Garland School—is distinctly organized for the scientific training of home-makers among the well-to-do.

The dignifying of what has been looked upon as the petty, prosaic detail of woman's lot is as high and valuable a form of work as can be done by woman.

It is one of the inconsistencies of human nature that this sphere of work, which is sung in song and praised in story, in practical life is belittled alike by both sexes. The masterful spirit of man has never allowed his part to be forgotten, and, because he deals with bigger things and heavier materials, he overlooks the fact that these are but materials which must be shaped, at least in part, by woman's hands into the finished product. As if the preparer and provider of the canvas and paint should say to the artist, "I am the creator of this picture." And woman, with the humility of her sex developed by long ages of masculine domination, accepts his dictum and despises her own art.

And that is one reason why we have the large class of restless, dissatisfied women who are seeking every possible way to avoid the career which Providence has graciously set before them. There is no recognition of the economic value of the work of the home-maker, and the spirit of independence which makes women as well as men Americans rebels at the indignity. Just how it can be brought about does not yet appear, but one of the forward steps in the future will be the devising of some scheme by which there shall be recognition of the money value of the work of the home-maker.

Fortunately, human nature is at work in us all, and so it happens that there are still homes and home-makers. For all the progress in science and art and education, there is nothing so beautiful, nothing so needed, nothing so much worth while, as a true home—except the home-maker to keep it such. For the present she can

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well afford to stand quietly by and wait, for, however she may be overlooked or despised, in the final outcome it is to her and into her sphere of labor that art, science, and education must pour all their trophies. As in the beginning the child's first need is a woman's care, so in the end there is no other place for a man to bring the result of all his labor but *home*, to the sheltering love of a woman's heart.

THE AUTOMOBILE AND THE BANKER

BY CHARLES MOREAU HARGER

WHEN, early last summer, the bankers of the interior began to feel the pinch of a shortened money market, by common consent they attributed the cause largely to the enormous sales of motor cars. For months, by every means possible, they discouraged borrowing for the purchase of automobiles—indeed, they deprecated the purchase without borrowing, for it meant money withdrawn from the banks.

One farmer who went to a country bank to obtain a small loan to make such payment was met with: "Not a dollar. It is bad financiering, and you are foolish to invest in such luxury."

"But I have a farm worth $16,000 clear of mortgage, and will have wheat and corn to sell that will net me $3,000 when marketed."

"We cannot help it—no loans for motor cars."

The farmer went to a neighbor who owned a car; the neighbor loaned him the money, borrowing it at the bank himself for the purpose, and the car was bought. In one community where many farmers own cars such a refusal was resented by sympathizing neighbors, and the bank lost $70,000 in deposits. Such experiences have brought a change in the bankers' attitude, and, generally, they now make a good loan without asking questions.

The effort of Western bankers to lessen the expenditure for automobiles was made because such purchases meant the sending of money out of the community. Nebraska issued 5,754 motor car licenses from January 1 to November 1; the numbers now run to 14,282—all issued in five years. The cars probably cost an average of at least $1,000 each—total $14,282,000. Kansas showed last March by assessors' returns 9,355 cars, of which 5,343 were owned by farmers. The State has at least 12,000 cars, costing $12,000,000; Oklahoma has 8,000 cars, costing $8,000,000; Missouri has 13,800. Taking the three States first named, selected because they represent agricultural communities where there is especial enthusiasm for such vehicles among farmers as well as among townsmen, more than $34,282,000 has been paid for this form of investment in five years. The salesmen get a commission of twenty to twenty-five per cent; $25,000,000 has been sent to manufacturers—not to mention nearly half that sum for equipment and upkeep. Little wonder that the bankers dislike to see motor cars come into their territory!

The cashier of a trust company said of his deposit account: "We are getting less money from the country banks, and the automobile does its part in restricting these funds. The farmer who had $3,000 in the bank buys a car, and now he has only $2,000. Or he sells grain for $1,800; formerly it was all deposited; now $800 is deposited, and the $1,000 buys a car. Not much in one instance, but when it runs to thousands in a State with 1,500,000 population it means a condition that must be reckoned with."

On the other side is to be considered the use to which the owner puts his car. One interior banker marked this view by saying: "I always have been a little skeptical about this automobile craze until, the other day, I talked with an influential friend of mine who loans considerable money. I deplored the idea of people putting so much money in these machines, and he laughed at me. 'Uncle John,' he

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said, 'don't you know that all the automobiles in Kansas, for instance, do not represent one-half the amount of money once spent for whisky and beer?'

"Well, I thought the matter over and concluded that he was right, and that people are only getting more for their money than they did twenty years ago. And, you know, I think an automobile is a great thing for the farmer, too. Why, a farmer fifteen or twenty miles out can come to town with a load of produce in a third of the time he used to. It's a pleasure to come to town now, instead of a hardship, as it was when I was young. If I were a farmer, I would certainly have an automobile. These machines are bought mainly, I think, by the men who can afford to buy them. In the list of more than 6,500 loans made by us this year I do not think there is a single instance where we have loaned money for a person to buy an automobile."

The plain truth is that the farmer derives from his purchase of a car more use and more pleasure than from anything else he buys outside his dwelling. He is the one who is best able to utilize it. Not only can he save his horses and his time, but he can give his family a broader life. Thousands of families in the West, never a dozen miles from home except on a railway, since buying a car cover every road for twenty to forty miles around. Drive on a country road on a pleasant Sunday; a whirl of dust and a motor whizzes by—a farmer's family twenty miles from home. Another, and it is a family returning from church in town, which it had not been able to attend for years because of the distance.

So far as the farmer is concerned—and he has been the best market for a year past—little anxiety need be felt. At the present prices for grain and stock he can buy luxuries if he sees fit.

In the country towns this is noticeable: the cars are not always owned by those who can best afford them. It is easy to name in the average community fifty families amply able to buy cars who do not possess them. Usually these are the conservatives, the "close figurers"—and they are to furnish the future market. Often they spend many times the cost of a car in travel or in other luxury—but not in burning gasoline. Because this is so the conclusion is reached that debts necessarily follow ownership.

This story comes from a prosperous Western city of ten thousand population: "A list of auto-owners, secured from the license book in the city clerk's office and compared with the mortgage register in the county registrar of deeds' office, reveals the fact that twenty automobile-owners out of eighty-four have mortgages on their homes, property, business, and chattels to the extent of $134,902.50. One big lump sum for a business concern cuts the figure down to $74,902.50 for nineteen persons; about two-thirds of the mortgages are on homes and places of business." This does not mean bankruptcy, but it may mean economy in other directions, an influence that affects the money supply and the mode of community living.

A general sales agent for one of the most popular low-priced cars said: "We have secured figures to show that in the Middle West out of eighty-eight persons able to buy and maintain a moderate-price car only one has purchased. On the other eighty-seven we have our plans for future sales. We spent $32,000 advertising in one Middle West newspaper last year—and it paid."

So much has been printed and said concerning this form of spending that the buyer to-day feels compelled to make some explanation. The other day a preacher in a Middle West community astonished his congregation by appearing on his circuit in a smooth-running touring car. So caustic were the comments that he published in the local paper a card:

> For the information of the curious I wish to say that I did not buy my automobile. I traded some land, and it was thrown in "to boot."

This phase of the industry is concrete and definite. However, it is but one form of the expenditures which the interior has been making in the years of its prosperity.

"Over one hundred thousand dollars has been sent out of my county in the past two years for mining stocks, investments in patent right schemes, and land speculations at a distance that did not call for actual settlement," said a banker two hundred miles west of the Missouri River.

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"This is no more than any well-settled county has invested—some have exceeded that figure." One railway company in Denver has received over a million dollars from Oklahoma and central Kansas for stock in less than three years.

Added to this have been the immense sums invested in lands for speculation or for increase of farming operations. The banks have been called on to finance these investments, and they have found the demand for money excessive during the past year. Along with the motor car went furnaces, artificial lighting plants, and bath-tubs, the car being but a part of the expenditure of their customers. A banker does not loan money expecting to take the collateral; he expects the loan to be paid. If the customer is placing the money in an unproductive enterprise when he cannot afford it—and the banker knows whether or not he can afford it—he has the right to refuse the loan.

This has been a part of the larger reason for the effort to curtail borrowing to buy cars. Even this is probably exaggerated. The statement from the town given above includes every sort of indebtedness owed by the firms in which the car-owners are interested. It does not fairly represent the financial condition of the purchasers.

Out of 5,280 letters received from bankers in response to an automobile dealer's inquiry, 1,254 mortgages to buy cars were reported. The total number of cars reported in the respective communities reached was 198,216. While the automobile output this year was 180,000, the Census Bulletin gives the annual production of horse-drawn passenger vehicles as 937,000, with 800,000 freight or package vehicles in addition. It would be interesting to know how many of these are purchased on time.

The automobile industry has passed the hysterical stage. The family that three years ago drove night and day simply for the delight of being on the road, now goes only when pleasure or business calls. The novelty has passed away. Practically everybody has had some experience in the seat of a moving car. It has become a more moderate enjoyment, a matter of course.

This means that cars will be purchased on a business, rather than on a sentimental, basis. Dealers say the sales this year will be larger than those of 1910. The office report of one of the largest firms on November 1 last showed 24,132 cars made for last year's trade, and 892 left in the hands of dealers. The company asked every dealer in a single Western State to make a close estimate of his probable needs for 1911. The total was 1,500 cars; in 1910 the sales were 1,355.

Along with the demand for passenger automobiles is coming that for farm tractors—heavy gasoline-propelled trucks that can plow twenty acres a day, haul grain to market (three tons at a load), run feed-grinders and corn-shellers. Automobile delivery wagons transport groceries in every town of size. It is the belief of the dealers that this field will be, in five years, a greater market than that of the pleasure road vehicle has been.

Were there financial disaster and disappointment in the ownership of a motor car, the trade would have felt it long before this. If the banker loses some deposits through the sending away of large sums for the purchase of cars, there is corresponding benefit to the workmen employed in the manufacture and in the development of a great industry that makes purchasers for the products of his customers. If it also enables his customers to get more out of life and to save time, and if it adds to their health and contentment, this should be taken into consideration. The man with a bank account is not going to leave his money forever in the hands of the banker. If he does not spend it for one thing, it will be for another. If he spends it in a way to make him a happier individual, he is not to be condemned.

No evidence has yet been produced to show that the towns or counties with most cars are retrograding or approaching financial distress, or that the banks there located are suffering. On the contrary, the communities are generally the most progressive in everything that makes for prosperity and contentment. This, of itself, is good evidence that the motor car is not a burden to advancement.

The banker is becoming less nervous over the condition of his deposit account. The crisis that was threatened last spring, and which to a degree caused his anxiety

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to find a scapegoat, passed without causing him loss or embarrassment. His deposits returned with the marketing of crops, and he realizes that in the vast total of the country's business the millions spent for motor cars are but a small part. The usefulness of the new vehicle and the large place it has taken in business have made it a feature of every-day life. The banker is becoming accustomed to it, and eventually will consider motor car purchases as he does the buying of pianos, repairing machinery, or purchasing railway tickets to the coast. Then we shall hear no more of the alarm concerning the car's influence on business; purchases will be taken as a matter of course, and the buyer who has the security will get the money to buy one if he desires. Motor cars will be sold by hardware and vehicle dealers, and bankers will look with favor upon the paper taken in the sales.

THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE IN ENGLAND[1]

BY H. C. JUDSON

MR. SIDNEY LEE is probably our best authority on Shakespearean texts. In his newest study of literary history, entitled "The French Renaissance in England," he gives the results of a careful and thorough search for evidences of French influences in Elizabethan literature. From the last half of the fifteenth century through the first half of the seventeenth century the extent of the debt to France of English intellectual activity in all departments, as shown by this investigation, was astonishing. The great works of Elizabethan genius, lyric, dramatic, and philosophic, seem, in this light, like the peak of a mountain of which, though the top is truly English, the base it rests on is largely French. The classics, and even Italian works, often came to England in French translations and with a marked French flavor.

Perhaps the one fact which the data given in this study most clearly bring out is the thoroughly international quality of the spirit of the Renaissance. England was very much slower than France to feel the fructifying breath of this new spring. The wind from Greece came as a quickener of seeds already in the ground. The countrymen of Abelard and the Albigenses, led as they were by the genius of Erasmus, far more distinctly embodied the deeper spirit of the Renaissance than did the more artistic countrymen of Machiavelli. France became, as Mr. Lee points out, the interpreter of the Renaissance to others, and very markedly to England. The predilection of gentlefolk in Tudor England for the language and manners of the countrymen of Bayard gave French thought a ready advantage there. In the reign of Edward VI numbers of Huguenots made homes in England, much to England's advantage. Yet, despite the false dawn in the works of the poets Wyatt and Surrey, who were influenced more directly from Italy, English culture showed no haste to break into blossom. More's "Utopia" (1516) was welcomed with enthusiasm in France, but had a cold reception at home. Rabelais shows its influence, and Mr. Lee points out that More was the only Englishman who made in his day a substantial contribution to the broad stream of European thought. He also points out that the printing activities of England and France show a marked contrast. Not only did the number of English presses increase more slowly, but Caxton (1477) and his successors were not of the scholarly stamp of the great French printers, and, instead of bringing out texts of the classics, they printed mostly translations of French prose and of the classics from French versions. The classical texts that were studied by the Tudor scholars were invari-

[1] The French Renaissance in England. By Sidney Lee. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50.

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ably foreign importations. When, in 1538, the "Great Bible" was prepared for the use of the English churches, the bulk of the manuscript dismayed the London printers and the book had to be sent to Paris to be set up. François Regnault, its printer, was interrupted by the French Government, which scented heresy, but he transported his presses to London, where the work was completed. Mr. Lee adds that it is abundantly clear that the early translators of the Bible were cognizant of contemporary French efforts and owed them an appreciable stimulus. He also finds unmistakable evidences of the influence of Calvin's style on English prose writers, including Hooker, and of Amyot's French version of Plutarch; but the general reader will be more interested in his account of the English adventures of French poetry.

The chief purveyors of poetic ideas and style to Elizabethan poets seem to have been the school of Ronsard (the Pléiade) and its immediate successors. Mr. Lee finds that the debt of Elizabethan poets to them is not only extensive, but ranges from poems translated and sent forth as original English compositions, and by such poets as Chapman, Lodge, and Samuel Daniel, to an influence which, in the glorious results of assimilation and suggestion, may be seen when Shakespeare's lyric

"Hark! hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings,
And Phœbus 'gins arise,
His steeds to water at those springs
On chaliced flowers that lies;
And winking mary-buds begin
To ope their golden eyes:
With everything that pretty is,
My lady sweet, arise; arise! arise!"

is compared with Ronsard's lines:

"Mignonne, lavez vous, vous estes paresseuse,
Ja la gaye alouette au ciel a fredonné, . . .
Sus! debout! allons voir l'herbelette perleuse,
Et votre beau rosier de boutons couronné,
Et vos œillets mignons ausquels aviez donné
Hier au soir de l'eau main si soigneuse."

He adds that hundreds of French songs ring variations on this, and cites another poem of Ronsard's which, he declares, Shakespeare has sublimated—melody and sentiment together:

"Iô, que je voy de roses
Ja décloses
Par l'Orient flamboyant:
A voir des nües diverses
Les traverses
Voicy le jour ondoyant.
Voicy l'Aube safranée
Qui ja née
Couvre d'œillets et de fleurs
Le ciel qui le jour desserre,
Et la terre
De rosées et de pleurs.
Debout doncq', Aube sacrée . . ."

He adds that the fresh delight in painted meadows and the brilliant colors of bud and blossom of Elizabethan poets seems to proclaim another mark of affinity with Ronsard and his disciples. He calls our attention to Drummond of Hawthorndon's poem "Phyllis and Damon," in the succeeding generation. This shows Elizabethan quality in a marked degree, but when it is compared with "Les Poesies Françaises," a poem by Jean Passerat, it is seen to be a free translation.

Before Mr. Lee discusses the sonnets which, he holds, accentuate the borrowing tendencies of the Elizabethan muse, he points out that the borrowing habit was recognized by contemporary critics and at times unsparingly condemned, but that it was general, and that French poets as unceremoniously borrowed from Italian and classical works. Montaigne is severe on authors who misrepresented as their own what they stole from others; yet Montaigne wrote of Plutarch, "He can no sooner come in my sight, or if I cast but a glance upon him, but I pull some leg or wing of him." It seems to have been a case of the familiarities of great love.

The sonnet in Elizabethan England, of all degrees of merit and demerit, never lost altogether its savor of a foreign origin. In Shakespeare Mr. Lee finds no instances of exact translation or direct imitation, but at times he does find the development, with magnificent power and melody, of familiar themes of foreign suggestion—praise of a "dark lady" and self-reproach for having borne false witness to her beauty; the poetic vaunt of immortality, etc.

Considering the dramatists, Mr. Lee declares that Shakespeare, like his fellows, stands indebted to French playwrights for much of his raw material and for much of the humble scaffolding of his art. He points out that there is no form of dramatic effort of which Elizabethan England, despite her triumphant handling of all, can claim the honor of inventing. He

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finds French plays that might have suggested the use of classic themes, like the death of Cæsar, the tragedy of "Antony and Cleopatra," as well as scenes where comic pedantry is used, as in "The Merry Wives of Windsor."

Mr. Lee's patience and the scholarly breadth of his researches are worthy of high praise. But he seems to lack that sympathy with the spirit of the Renaissance that is necessary to bring out the full significance of such a study of the time as he now presents. The lack is impalpable, but it makes him seem at times to take the attitude of a special pleader, though one whose plea is strongly enforced.

THE NEW BOOKS

"Jim Hands," by Richard Washburn Child, is, we believe, Mr. Child's first novel, although he is well known as a writer of short tales. The story is supposed to be told by a factory hand, and is largely about factory people; but it is entirely free from any kind of economic or Socialistic propagandism. It is, on the contrary, a very human tale which combines several of the prime elements of a good novel: clear character-drawing, a well-conceived plot, a strong dash of humor, general good sense, and kindliness of tone. Above all, the story is alive from beginning to end. It is not one of the tales of culture, neither is it an adroit piece of book-making. On the contrary, it is very simple, and its qualities are good old-fashioned qualities of sound fiction. It does not endeavor to force a moral. Whatever moral comes from it comes by unconscious suggestion—that is to say, by portrayal of actual conditions. The author will be heard from again. This is an exceptionally interesting story. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

The English plot-tale called "The Golden Web," by Anthony Partridge, is modeled after the well-known Oppenheim order—that is, it aims to combine the sensationalism of the old-fashioned "shilling shocker" with a more refined literary style than that of the average narrative of crime and mystery, and with some honest attempts at character-drawing. An adventurer lays claim to a gold mine owned by a syndicate; robbery and murder grow out of an attempt to recover a deed to the mine, and two girls become strangely tangled up in the affair. (Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50.)

The unhappy history of Elizabeth Stuart, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia, has not, we are sure, been more vividly told than it is in Marie Hay's romance entitled "A Winter Queen." Elizabeth's character stands out sharply; not so her husband's. But, of course, Elizabeth's was the character to be emphasized, and her story is told with a keen sense of dramatic unity. The account begins when Elizabeth came to Heidelberg from England, and continues to her death. (The Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $4.)

Mrs. Hugh Fraser, the author of "A Diplomat's Wife in Many Lands," makes her two large volumes thoroughly entertaining—almost as much so as her "Letters from Japan," which has probably had a wider reading in a greater number of countries than any other book of its class in recent years. Mrs. Fraser is the sister of the late Marion Crawford and the widow of Hugh Fraser, an English diplomat. Much of her earlier life was spent in Italy, and in this book she gives us some vivid impressions of the days of the fall of the Pope's temporal power—not the less interesting because her sympathy is with the Pope rather than his enemies; really charming personal glimpses of Pius IX are included. Her recollections of her brother Marion as child and man are exceedingly lively and enjoyable. With her husband Mrs. Fraser spent several years in China, and her account of the social life of the diplomats, the devotion of the missionaries, the hidden but always present dangers from the anti-foreign feeling, and much else, forms a readable and exciting part of the book. A third section of equal interest tells of court and diplomatic life in Vienna. Throughout will be found abundance of anecdotes, personal reminiscences, talk about famous or odd persons—all deftly combined into an easily flowing story which holds the reader's attention continuously. If we were to carp at anything, it would be the appearance of profound conviction in a few ghost stories and the too ready acceptance occasionally of second-hand accounts of the inner history of great personages. (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $6.)

It is pleasant to think of Boston Common as the historic place of meeting and relaxation and pleasure for Bostonians—as an oasis in the subduing of nature as it spread about the early settlers in the wilderness, and, indeed, within them—a nature to be subdued with all the rigors of Calvinistic theology, to quote Mr. Howe in his delightful "Boston Common." The book comprises a picturesque account of the

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tragedies and comedies, the pageants and incidental happenings, connected with that famous tract of forty-odd acres. The text cleverly combines the records left by contemporary writers with Mr. Howe's own historical researches. Only after reading this volume will one realize how thoroughly the Common has been regarded as the center of the outdoor stage on which the dramas of local life have been enacted, even though its primary object was "a trayning field which, ever since and now, is used for that purpose and for the feeding of Cattell." The annual spring pageants provided by the review of the School Boys' Brigade, and, even more, of the Ancient and Honorable Military Company, now typify the link between the present and the past, for both the Latin School and the Ancients are survivors from the earliest Boston days. An interesting souvenir of the "trayning field" (in 1677) is taken from Samuel Sewall's Diary:

> I went out this morning without private prayer and riding on the Comon thinking to escape the Souldiers (because of my fearfull Horse); notwithstanding there was a Company at a great distance which my horse was so transported at that I could no way govern him, but was fain to let him go full speed, and hold my Hat under my Arm. The wind was Norwest.

The bad cold contracted by the Puritan John Gilpin may, as Mr. Howe adds, also be ascribed to the omission of his morning devotions. Who knows, too, but that the present paths through the Common may be traced to the peregrinations of the Rev. Mr. Blaxton's bull? The animal belonged to the parson, who went to Winthrop from Charlestown when the colonists there were suffering from the lack of good water and advised their moving across to the peninsula of Shawmut, which had excellent springs. They came, and four years later Blaxton sold to the town a tract of land, part of which is the present Common. Dr. Holmes thus describes Blaxton:

> "Here comes old Shawmut's pioneer,
> The parson on his brindled bull."

No book with which we are familiar better pictures that early period, savoring of boisterous and sometimes tragic intolerance rather than the sincerities of religious belief. It is a relief to turn from often shameful seventeenth-century history to that of the eighteenth century, when the Common was used as a gathering-place for those who wished to hear the preacher Whitefield. Later, before sailing for Louisburg (1745), Sir William Pepperell's forces encamped on the Common, and thenceforth it was frequently used for military purposes. Indeed, from 1768, the year after the tax was imposed on tea, to the evacuation of Boston by the British the Common was almost constantly the place of encampment. The present volume well describes the existing scenes of the Revolutionary and Civil War periods as connected with the Common. While the text needs no illustration, it is nevertheless reinforced by many heliogravure reproductions of rare old prints. Only five hundred copies of this exquisitely printed book are offered for sale. (The Houghton Mifflin Company, New York. $5.)

Mr. Walter Tyndale's "Japan and the Japanese" is notable, first of all, because of the charmingly colored pictures. They alone are enough to give a graphic and accurate idea of Japan. One does not need to read the text. But the text and pictures should form an incentive for a visit to Japan, as they certainly will prove an agreeable souvenir to those who have visited that country. The present volume, therefore, is a welcome addition to the long list of books on Japan. Most of them have been written by people not as fortunate as is the present author, for he has done the whole of his book. He has not only written the text but he has painted the pictures which appear as illustrations. Hence the outward appearance of things primarily concerns him. Nevertheless, while in search of artistic material, especially in the Japanese gardens, Mr. Tyndale did not fail to gain an insight into much that the outward appearance suggests. In this endeavor he made many acquaintances and won many friendships. The result was a fund of intimate information shared with us concerning things Japanese. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $5.)

"Autobiography, Poems, and Prayers," by Theodore Parker, edited by Rufus Leighton, is the latest volume in the Centenary Edition of Theodore Parker's works. Whether any other volumes are to follow this volume does not tell us. The autobiographical fragment is slight; the poems and parables are not extraordinary; and Dr. Parker's account of the true function of a church and of a minister, which in his day was less radical than he thought it was, is now not radical at all. But the prayers well deserve preservation. They are well worthy the study of ministers whose official duty it is to lead in extempore prayer the devotions of a congregation, and they furnish sane spiritual reading for any soul devoutly inclined. Public prayers are very apt to be either personal meditations or public addresses. In the first case the speaker forgets his congregation and simply expresses aloud his personal experiences of pious communings; in the second case he forgets the Deity and speaks to the audience. These prayers of Theodore Parker are conversations with the Father; but they are collective conversations. In them Dr. Parker gathers up sympathetically the experiences common to the congregation before him, and, speaking for them, expresses their experiences to a God as truly present to his consciousness as if no veil of invisibility separated them. Reverence and humility, hope and aspiration, gratitude and fellowship, all breathe in these childlike utterances. These prayers have been criticised as containing no deep and poignant experience of sin and repentance. It is true that in them is not to be found any-

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thing analogous to the Fifty-first Psalm or the prayer of the repentant Prodigal. Nor is there any similar experience in Christ's prayer recorded in the seventeenth chapter of John. Probably the poignant sense of sin was lacking in Theodore Parker's life. If so, he was right not to borrow the expressions of such experience from others. The value of these prayers lies in their simplicity and their unmistakable sincerity. Is not this the value of all prayer? (American Unitarian Association, Boston. $1.)

Mrs. Louise Collier Willcox has given her book of selections of poetry an unhappy title. "A Manual of Spiritual Fortification" suggests the quality of her collection, but it does not suggest its variety, its human interest, and its poetic value. The book is described in a sub-title as "A Choice of Meditative and Mystic Poems," and not only justifies this title, but goes beyond it in its endeavor to indicate in choice poetry the progress of religious feeling from the thirteenth to the twentieth century; and also to present a body of poetry which shall express the sense of the indwelling of God in the soul of man. Mrs. Willcox avoids dogmatic and classical poetry, and has brought together a really notable volume of literary quality and of spiritual helpfulness. Her preface gives the key to her selection, although she has followed the line of her choice so intelligently that no open-minded reader could escape it. (Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.25.)

Just why Mr. Caffin, in his "Story of Spanish Painting," should dismiss the present-day painters of the Peninsula so summarily is not evident. He gives but a few lines to such important people as Fortuny, Madrazo, Sorolla, and Zuloaga. We should have liked instead to have read a short chapter devoted to each of these four as subjects. However, we are thankful for the separate chapters given to Theotocopuli (El Greco), Velasquez, Mazo, Carreño, Ribera, and Goya, while Cano and Zurbarán are the subjects of another chapter. Even more satisfactory than are these sketches of personalities and the summaries of individual motives and methods are Mr. Caffin's opinions concerning the characteristics of Spanish painting in general, as he indicates how they were the products of the genius of the Spanish race and how they were affected by local conditions. Whether judged on its historical or its critical side, therefore, Mr. Caffin's latest volume is worthy of a place alongside his interesting "Story of Dutch Painting." (The Century Company, New York. $1.20.)

Many travelers visit Egypt every year, and the number is constantly increasing. Few go in pursuit of historical or archæological knowledge. Nearly all go in search of health and pleasure. All these classes, however, may find interesting suggestions in Mr. Percy Withers's "Egypt of Yesterday and To-day." While it may not be easy again to describe what has so often been well described, the present volume shows a notable balance and a nice sense of perspective both in choice of the various subjects to be described and in the amount of space given to each. While more brilliant and more scholarly accounts of Egypt have been written, if the intending voyager thither could carry but one book with him, he might well take this. (The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. $1.75.)

When Mr. Edward Hutton publishes another edition of his "Siena and Southern Tuscany," will he not include an account of Piombino? The book's scope is sufficient properly to include chapters treating of such other southern Tuscan towns as Asciano, Montepulciano, Radicofani, Cortona, and Arezzo. And we hope that the addition may mean one more added to the sympathetic illustrations in color which adorn the present volume. As is fitting, however, half of the present volume is occupied by an account of Siena. Evidently to Mr. Hutton, as to many of us, there is nothing in the world just like Siena—no other place, at any rate, with just her gift of expression, her quality of joy, of passion, of sheer loveliness. Surely we have never had a better description of Siena than is given in these pages, and Mr. Hutton adds the last touch of pertinent comment when he points out that no noisy trams have invaded Siena, as they have Florence and Rome. As to the book in general, somehow Mr. Hutton seems in it a safer guide than in his other volumes, full of color as they all are. We now are impressed by no loss of color, but by a keener sense of form. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.)

An impassioned enthusiasm for humanity pervades the series of essays and addresses by Dr. Amory H. Bradford which he has collected into a volume entitled "My Brother." He is alive to the perils threatening a society in which the denial to the weak of equal rights with the strong splits men into hostile classes on the lines of race, or property, or opportunity. Sharply reproving the Church for neglects that have produced these perils, he rejoices in her awakening zeal to retrieve the situation by fidelity to her primal principle of human brotherhood, now preached with fervor in a multitude of pulpits. "The university and the pulpit," he declares, "are the hope of the world." His doctrine is that of Christian Socialists of the school of Maurice and Kingsley and Gladden. "The supreme need of the time," as he sees it, "is the realization of God"—a far intenser experience than mere belief. St. Peter's precept, "Honor all men," is impracticable on any other ground than the recognition of God as immanent in humanity. But immanence, the keyword of modern theology, is more than a new name, as Dr. Bradford implies, for what the older theology called omnipresence. (The Pilgrim Press, Boston. $1.25.)

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LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

THE NEW BUSINESS CONSCIENCE

A new conscience is appearing in our business world. The old conscience was commercial. It conducted business wholly for the money there was in it. The new conscience is philanthropic. It conducts business for the service it can render to the community. The old corporation had no soul, the new one is distinctly human.

Less than thirty years ago the president of a great railway voiced the conscience of his time by saying, "The public be damned." Now all our railway magnates are saying, "We are here to serve the public." They voice the new conscience.

A little while ago no business man thought of the corporation as anything but a commercial institution. It was of money, by money, and for money. Its duty toward its members ceased when the wages and dividends were paid. Now it is seen that it can be made the most efficient of benevolent institutions. Out of its own resources it can supply all the economic needs of all its members. It can pay a living wage, care for its members when sick, and provide a pension in age. It can make itself responsible for all economic needs better and cheaper than any other organization. Sick benefit funds, accident insurance, and old age pensions are becoming essential features of all our up-to-date corporations.

It has proved to be good business to care more for those who do the work than for money. The chief asset of the corporation is not its capital or its machinery, but its employees. With cheerful, contented, willing workmen and capable managers dividends take care of themselves.

The dreary reign of the commercial conscience for the last fifty years has given us these four things: an amazing increase of National wealth, colossal personal fortunes, a barbaric love of luxury and pleasure, and an incalculable waste of our natural resources and our men. Our wealth has cost infinitely more than it is worth. We hope that the new philanthropic conscience will produce as much wealth and distribute it more equitably.

It will stop exploiting the labor of the many for the enrichment of the few. It ought to bring back simpler and saner ways of living and make us care less for money and pleasure.

It must stop this terrible destruction of our natural wealth and this waste of men if our Nation is long to survive. We must devise an industrial system that will develop strong character and great manhood in all its members. Work for men, not money.

It was this new conscience that drove the commercial spirit out of the Church and made it disgraceful for any minister to exploit his congregation for his own enrichment. It is this new conscience that is driving the commercial spirit out of politics. The man who is in office for the money will certainly be discredited at the polls and be looked upon as a traitor.

It is this new conscience that is driving the commercial spirit out of the corporation. Public opinion is demanding of the president of a railway what we demand of a bishop of a diocese or the Governor of a State. He is there as a minister of God to serve the public. For good service we are glad to pay him well. But we will not tolerate a bishop, or Governor, or business manager who is trying to exploit us to enrich or elevate himself. Class government in Church, State, and business is out of date in America. A new classification of society is appearing. We are ranking men, not according to wealth, birth, knowledge, or station, but according to their social efficiency. He is to be called greatest who serves the community best. A new day is dawning. A new aristocracy is appearing of those who render to the community capable, disinterested service.

Our social ideal is still the Man who said, "I am among you as one who serveth."

Waterbury, Connecticut. J. A. BIDDLE.

THE VALUE OF PERSONAL SERVICE

Mr. Roosevelt's temperate and well-considered article on "The Coal Miner at Home" throws so much light on Settlement work that I cannot forbear calling attention to it.

In the Settlement the right kind of a man finds himself quickly in accord with many of his neighbors. He finds them hard-working and self-respecting. He realizes how much progress there has been and the great need of further progress. He finds out that he needs them quite as much as they need him.

Here is where those interested in Settlements have been disappointed. When, for example, the East Side House Settlement was founded twenty years ago, we fully expected that most of the work would be done by young men of education who were willing to devote a year or more to the serious study of the plain people and an earnest endeavor to aid in the improvement of social life in cities. Young Englishmen do this at Oxford House and Toynbee Hall. Young doctors in America take a year or two of hospital work before beginning independent practice. But young ministers, lawyers, and philanthropists do not appreciate that the practical experience of Settlement life is just as necessary for them and their life work.

What Mr. Roosevelt says of the need of innocent amusements for the young people we find as true in New York as in Pennsylvania. And we do provide them.

He sums up in one sentence the object of the Settlement work:

> Every wage-worker should be a self-respecting, thriving citizen whose instincts and surroundings and self-interest combine to make him a law-abiding man, sharing in the general desire of all good citizens

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both to secure social and civic betterment and to work for such betterment on sane lines.

This is what we are trying to accomplish. This is what we do in part achieve. To good citizens, then, I would say: Come over and help us with personal service if you can; with money if you have no other gift. We need both.

The work is preventive, and an ounce of it is worth a pound of cure. It is educational—just as much needed as that of schools and colleges. That it fails to receive adequate support, as Bishop Potter said, is because the citizens of New York do not appreciate its value.

EVERETT P. WHEELER.

East Side House, New York City.

THE HALE MEMORIAL

My article in your issue of November 12, "Reminiscences of Edward Everett Hale," has brought me this note from one of the group of women who were in the habitual and devoted service of "the Chief:"

You may like to know that the "All Souls" poem is included in "Poems and Fancies" of the Little, Brown & Co. edition of Dr. Hale's writings. Many years ago, when Dr. Hale's own Lend-a-Hand Club wished to make him a birthday gift, we were puzzled, as often was the case. No collection of his poems had ever been made, many having been written, as was this, for the end of a sermon. So, on pretty, square, red-lined uniform paper, each girl copied out a poem as we hunted them out, and they were bound in a soft kid cover. Dr. Hale was immensely pleased, as he had never known how many there were nor where they were. From this beginning we have his published poems.

May I add to the article a brief postscript? It had left my hands before the proposal for a memorial statue of Dr. Hale in Boston had been made public. If that had been before me, I should have retouched my closing paragraph introducing the poem. "No form of bronze and no memorial stones"—*he* needs none, but *we* need, for our children's sake, to commemorate in fit and lasting form that grand and inspiring personality. The design for the monument is worthy of the subject, and is on a scale that will call for a large sum, and an appeal is made by the committee for contributions of "even the smallest sums." They may be sent to Kidder, Peabody & Co., Boston.

GEORGE S. MERRIAM.

Springfield, Massachusetts.

THE COST OF MOTORING

The article in a recent Outlook on the cost of keeping an automobile leaves much unsaid. As far as it goes it may be correct, but it is a very limited experience. My own experience is sufficiently different to be worth taking into account. I have been using automobiles for the past eight years, and during that time have had nine different machines. About four and a half years ago I got my first successful machine, for which I paid in cash $550 and property which cost me $100. This machine did the work of two horses for two and one-half years, and then sold at such a price as to enable me to purchase a new machine with that amount and the money saved by not keeping horses. My old machine is still doing good work. The new machine which I bought cost me $560, and I have run it over twelve thousand miles in a little less than two years, and it is averaging twenty miles daily at the present time.

Including gasoline, oil, care, and repairs, it has cost not to exceed $150 per year. I have paid out for tires, in round numbers, $150, and have now on a set which is in good condition and good at least for the rest of the winter. I am particularly hard on tires, as I am running daily, and often nightly, through mud and over rough, frozen ground, with snow and ice for variety, and in the season when these are not in evidence I often have to drive through byways and lanes where I encounter almost everything which can be named, including tacks, nails, broken glass, tin cans, etc. A new set of tires will cost me about $60, not $260. This is one of the advantages of running a light machine. Mine is not a high-powered machine and cannot fly over the road at the illegal speed of forty or fifty miles an hour, but with roads in fair condition it will take all ordinary hills on the high gear, and it will take anything on the low. It constantly does the work of two horses and often of three, and is as reliable as any horse I ever had.

To the ordinary laboring man a person having an income of $4,000 per year is rich, and this man (and I am sure The Outlook has many such among its readers), by reading the article referred to, would be confirmed in the prevalent opinion that only the rich can have automobiles. In the past I have known many men with incomes much below one thousand a year who have kept a horse and buggy for pleasure riding after working hours in the evening and on holidays. Such a family could, at a slightly increased initial expense, now have the pleasure and advantage of an automobile, which if used twice as much as the horse would wear indefinitely, would not cost half as much to keep, and not require half as much time to take care of it.

Good, serviceable machines can now be bought new for $600, or even less, that are as reliable and wear as well as higher-priced machines. They certainly cost much less for repairs, and vastly less for tires.

I am interested in this matter solely because I do not want to see the people of really moderate incomes debarred from the sane pleasures and health-giving influences of automobiling, and I am sure, with a proper understanding of the matter, they need not be. (Dr.) JOHN J. SHAW.

Plymouth, Massachusetts.

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"Want" advertisements, under the various headings, "Board and Rooms," "Help Wanted," etc., ten cents for each word or initial, **including the address, for each insertion.** The first word of each advertisement is set in capital letters without additional charge. Other words may be set in capitals, if desired, at double rates. If answers are to be addressed in care of The Outlook, **twenty-five cents** is charged for the box number named in the advertisement. Replies will be forwarded by us to the advertiser and bill for postage rendered. Special headings appropriate to the department may be arranged for on application.

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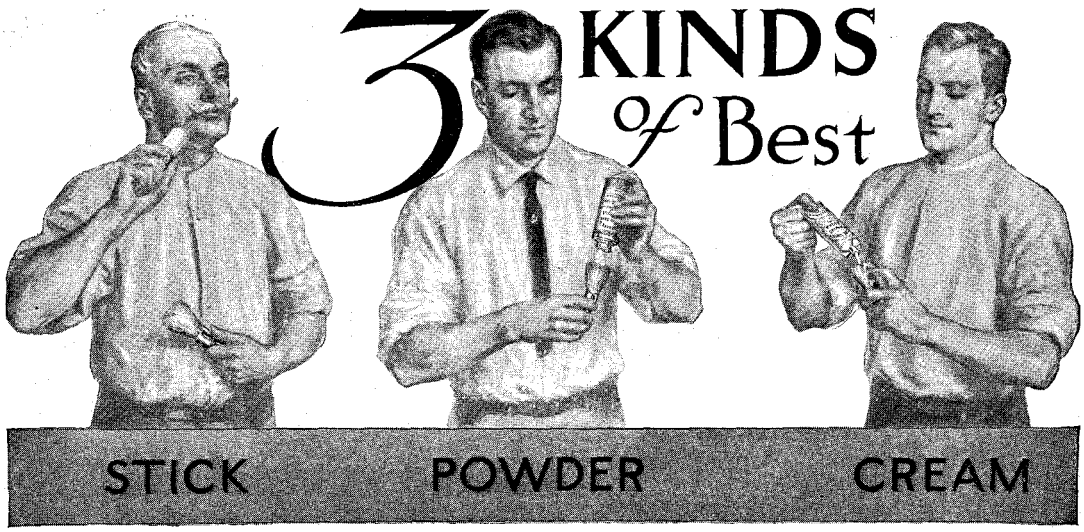

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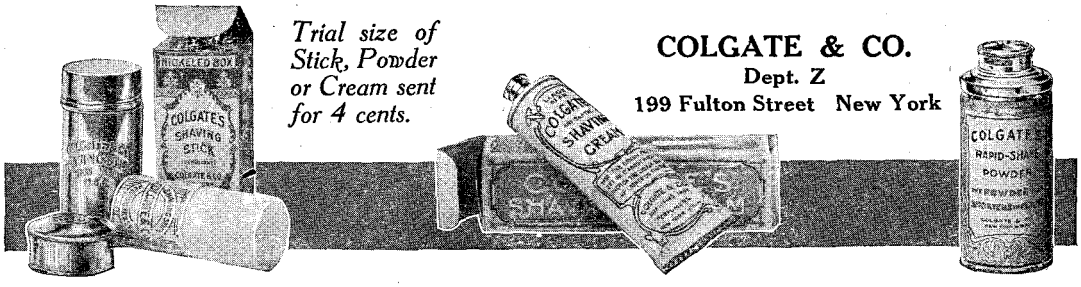

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